

Maratha Relations with the
Major States of Rajputana
(1761-1818 A D)

MARATHA RELATIONS
WITH THE
MAJOR STATES
OF RAJPUTANA
(1761-1818 A D)

By

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PREFACE

This thesis on the doleful phase in the history of Rajputana was submitted to the Punjab University, Chandigarh, in 1964. The period commences with the year 1761 when the defeat of the Marathas at the hands of Ahmed Shah Abdali kindled a spark of jubilation in the States of Rajputana who had suffered at their hands. Their rejoicings proved momentary as they could not capitalise on it due to their family feuds, inter State rivalries and internecine wars which was a common feature of the history of Rajputana during the period. Such a murky atmosphere provided ample opportunities for the houses of Sindhia and Holkar to earmark their own spheres of influence and reduce it to shambles. Whatever remained was mercilessly pillaged by the hordes of Amir Khan till he completely mastered Rajputana and became the undisputed arbiter. The period comes to a close in 1818 when the Rajput States were taken under the protection of the East India Company.

While no pretensions are made for originality, yet to impart soundness to the conclusions derived upon, I have drawn upon historical records preserved at the Archives of Bikaner, Kota, Kishangarh, etc. The private collections at Sitamow and Benara, etc., have also been consulted. I have gone through the proceeding volumes of the Foreign Political and Foreign Secret Departments in National Archives of India, New Delhi. The facts contained in my thesis are mainly based on Rajput records, but Maratha records available at Sitamow have also yielded some valuable information. The Persian *Alkhabars* at Raghbir Library, Sitamow, throwing light on the predatory career of Amir Khan, have been checked up. I may humbly mention that this source has hitherto remained untapped.

Before concluding, I would like to acknowledge the deep debt of gratitude I owe to my supervisor, Dr R R' Sethi, the then Prof and Head of History Department, Punjab University, Chandigarh, who encouraged me to embark upon this humble endeavour. I must record my profound sense of obligation to my two examiners—Dr CH Philips, Director, Institute of Oriental and African Studies, London and Dr CC Davies, Reader in Modern Indian History, Balliol College, Oxford, for their valuable suggestions. I also, gratefully, acknowledge the sympathy and consideration shown to me by the late Shri N R Khadgavat, Director, Rajasthani Archives, Bikaner; Director, National Archives of India, New Delhi, and Dr. Raghubir Singh. My thanks are also due to my wife, Mrs S Saxena, for the unfailing encouragement and the untold hardships that she had to undergo while the work was in preparation. Without her care and devotion the work could never have been completed. In the end I would tender my heart-felt thanks to Dr. S.B.P. Nigam, Reader in History, Kurukshetra University, who constantly encouraged me to publish the book and gave his time in going through the text.

Kurukshetra
October 31, 1972

R. K. SAXENA

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A O K	Archives Office, Kota
A O Kish	Archives Office, Kishangarh
B I S M	Bharat Itihas Sansodhak Mandal, Poona
Basta	Bundle
Banera	Records preserved in the Fort Archives at Banera
Cons No	Consultation number of a record in the National Archives of India
Company	British East India Company
C P C	Calendar of Persian Correspondence
D O A B	Records preserved in the office of the Directorate of Archives, Bikaner
D K	Draft Kharita
F & P	Records in the National Archives in the Foreign and Political Section.
F & S	Records in the National Archives in the Foreign and Secret Section
Fol	Folio
G B	Gwahar Bundle
G O I	Government of India publication.
G.G	Governor General
II	Hijra year
Ibid	Ibidem
Kapat-Dwara	List of documents maintained in a Register at the Directorate Office, Bikaner

Long	. Longitude
Lat	Latitude
MSS.	Manuscript
No	Consultation number
N A O I	Records preserved in the National Archives of India, New Delhi
P	Page
P R C	- Poona Residency Correspondence
Parcha	Parcha-i-Akhbar-i-Deohri Nawab Amir Khan (1810-17).
Pustak Prakash	Personal possession of the Ex Maharaja of Jodhpur
Recd	. Received.
Rs	Rupees
Sitamow	Records preserved at Raghuraj Library, Sitamow
S P D	Selections from the Peshwa Daftar.
TI	Translation of the Issues.
TR	Translation of Receipts
Vol	Volume
V S	Vikram Samvat
V V	Vir Vinod.
W D	Despatches of the Marquess of Wellesley as edited by Martin.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Rajputana lies between $23^{\circ} 3' - 30^{\circ} 12'$ in the North and $67^{\circ} 30' - 78^{\circ} 18'$ in the East ¹ It is thus situated in the Western part of northern India. It is bounded by Punjab in the north, Madhya-Pradesh in the south and the sandy desert of Sindh in the west. The Aravali Range has bisected it into two parts running diagonally from north east to south west. The upper part includes the states of Jodhpur, Bikaner and Jaisalmer. The lower part is an assemblage of many states. In the east of Jodhpur is the old and opulent state of the Kachwahas with its independent off shoots, the Shekhawati state and Alwar, occupying the northern half of the eastern part of Rajputana. In southern Rajputana lies the historic land of Mewar with the vassal states of Dungarpur, Banswara and Pratapgarh. To the east of Mewar is Harauti, the land of the Hadas, intersected by the river Chambal. In a break in the Aravali range is the city of Ajmer regarded as the key of Rajputana. Its extreme length is calculated at 330 miles and its breadth in the broadest part is two hundred miles² having an approximate area of 1,35,046 square miles.³ Rajputana has always played a vital role in India's long history. The annals of every Rajput state are full of accounts of its glorious actions in the field of battle and an equally glorious retreat. They came into contact with the Marathas during the

1 Ojha G H. History of Rajputana (3 Vols. Ajmer : Vedic Yantralaya, 1931) Vol I p. 3

2 Malcolm Sir John A Memoir of Central India (2 Vols, Bombay Thacker Esling & Co. 1850) Vol I, p. 330

3 Ojha, op. cit. 1. 3

first quarter of the 18th century and shared the spoils with them, on account of the decaying Mughal Empire. But once the expansionist designs of the Marathas were clear they prepared themselves to resist them.

Of all the Rajput states of Rajputana, Mewar, Jaipur, Jodhpur and Kota stand out prominently from the rest of the states on account of the part played during the period under study. They are equally significant due to the depredations to which they were subjected at the hands of the Marathas. But these states could not be treated in a vacuum, as their ill-fate had repercussions on other states like Kishangarh, Alwar, Bundi and Karauli, which, therefore, have been referred to where necessary.

Mewar is the oldest state of Rajputana known as Medpat in oriental works¹. The famous Shubigana, an ancient city of Madhyamika, once constituted the territory of Mewar². In its heyday Mewar touched Malwa in the south-east and Bayana in the north-east. Its subjection to foreign invaders led to its disintegration till it was bounded by Neemuch, Bundi and Kota in the east, Ajmer in the north, Jodhpur and Sirohi in the west and Banswara, Dungarpur and Pratapgarh in the south. The Aravali hills in the south-west act as a natural frontier in that direction³.

Of all the Rajputs of India the Maharanas of Mewar are the highest in rank and dignity⁴. The ruling house of the Sisodias claims descent from Lava, the eldest son of Rama, the legendary king of Oudh⁵. The last of his descendant to rule over Oudh was Sumitra. They then emigrated to Gujrat in 145 A.D. They ruled there till their capital, Ballabhi, under their leader Kanaksen, fell before barbarians in 524 A.D.⁶ The

1 Ojha op cit., I 1

2 Ibid

3 Imperial Gazetteer of India (1893-87), Rajputana, p. 10

4 Thornton F. Gazetteer of Territories under East India Company (4 Vols.) Vol III p. 799

5 Imperial Gazetteer of India Vol XXIV (Travancore to Zira) p. 87

6 Ruling Princes, Chiefs and Leading Personages in Rajputana and Ajmer G.O.I. p. 52

first change was made in 728 A D,¹ when for the genuine term of Suryavanshi was substituted the particular appellation of Ghlote.² Mahendraj II, better known as Bapa, captured Chittor from the Mori Chief in 734 A D³ and assumed the title of Rawal. He founded the kingdom of Mewar. For nearly five hundred years their history remains obscure.⁴ Karan Singh ruled towards the end of the 12th century, and in his time the family was divided into two branches. The senior branch remained at Chittor with the title of Rawal. The junior family settled in the village of Sisodia and assumed the title of Rana.⁵ This continued for more than one hundred years.

The Muslim attempts to capture Mewar were gradually becoming frequent. In 1303 A D Allauddin Khilji captured Chittor from the ruler, Rawal Rattan Singh I. The fort was bestowed upon his son, Khizir Khan, and named as Khizarabad. He was made to leave it soon after. As there was no heir to Rawal Rattan Singh I so the fort passed on to the junior branch. The Ranas repulsed the attacks of Mohammad Tughluq and the rulers of Malwa during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁶ During the time of the Mughals, Rana Sangram Singh I fought against Babar in 1527 A D in the battle of Khanua, but was defeated. Rana Pratap unsuccessfully attempted to bring the power of the Mughals to an end during Akbar's reign. He recovered the whole of Mewar excepting Chittor.

He was succeeded by Rana Amar Singh in 1608 A D. He formed an alliance with the Rajas of Amber and Jodhpur in

1 Thornton, op cit III, 701

2 Tod, Col James Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan (2 Vols, London Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd 1937) Vol I, p 165

3 Puling Princes, Chiefs and Leading Personages in Rajasthan and Ajmer, C O I, p 52

4 Malloway, G B An Historical Sketch of the Native States of India, London Longmans Green & Co 1873, p 111

5 Imperial Gazetteer of India (Travancore to Zira) XXIV, 58

6 (a) Tod op cit I, 241

(b) Imperial Gazetteer of India (Travancore to Zira) XXIV, 64

(c) Rana Hamir Singh defeated Mohammed Tughluq. Rana Kumbha fought against Mahmud Khilji of Malwa in 1437 and Kutubuddin of Gujarat. Rana Rai Mal defeated Ghiyasuddin of Malwa

1708 A.D. for mutual protection against the Mughals. It was decided that the houses of Jaipur and Jodhpur would be admitted to the honour of marriage with Mewar. This privilege they had lost by giving their daughters in marriage to the Mughal Emperors¹. The Rana, unfortunately, added a provision that the son of an Udaipur princess should succeed in preference to any elder son by another queen.² The remedy was worse than the disease. The right of primogeniture was compromised, and the making of the elder branch of the family a powerful vassal with claims to the throne proved more disastrous in its consequences, than the arms of the Mughals.³

Amar Singh was succeeded by Sangram Singh II (1710-1734) and the Maratha power waxed greater. The Marathas began to raid Malwa which they considered strategically important for their expansion. During Baji Rao's Peshwaship⁴ systematic expansion towards the North became the avowed policy of the Marathas.

The declining power of the Mughals after Aurangzeb emboldened the Marathas to demand 'Chauth' from the two Mughal provinces of Malwa and Gujrat. The appointment of Girdhar Bahadur as the Subedar of Malwa held them in check but soon the Marathas began to woo the Rajputs to support their cause. Baji Rao deputed Prabhu Jadu Rao to the court of Maharana Sangram Singh II to seek his assistance. Though the Maharana remained indifferent to the cause yet he conveyed the feelings to Sawai Jai Singh⁵. The Jaipur Raja, who was on the look out for getting the subedari of Malwa, manipulated the threat of the Marathas to his own advantage. He proposed that a yearly grant of Rs 10 lakhs each from the provinces

1 Imperial Gazetteer of India (Travancore to Zira), XXIV, 9

2 Ruling Princes, Chiefs and Leading Personages in Rajputana and Ajmer, G.O.I. p. 54

3 Malleson, G.B., The Native States of India (London: Longmans Green and Co., 1875) p. 21

4 Baji Rao was the Peshwa during 1719-39

5 One-fourth of the whole revenue

6 Raghuraj Singh, *Purva Audhunik Rajasthan* (Udaipur Sahitya Samasthan 1951) pp. 159-60

of Malwa and Gujrat be made to the Marathas to check their invasions. But his desires could not be accomplished.

The increasing inroads of the Marathas in Malwa after 1725 A.D. led to an open conflict with Girdhar Bahadur in the battle of Amjhera in November, 1728, in which he lost his life.¹ Sawai Jai Singh was appointed the Mughal Subedar of Malwa in October, 1729. But this was only stopgap arrangement. He was replaced by Mohammad Bangash in September, 1730. He could not check the Marathas, so Emperor, Mohammad Shah, reappointed Sawai Jai Singh in September, 1732. By this time, the Marathas had swept over a considerable portion of southern Malwa and the contest with the Mughal Subedar had become inevitable. In February, 1733, the Marathas successfully fought against Sawai Jai Singh. He was forced to grant Rs 6 lakhs as war indemnity and 28 Parganas of Malwa to meet 'Chauth' demands.² The Maratha penetration into Malwa served as a base to raid Rajputana and force the Rajput Rajas to comply with their demands.³

The Rajputs also hired them to gain their ends. Bundi was the first to invite them to meddle in her affairs. The reasons for it were deep-rooted. Sawai Jai Singh, seeing the weakness and incapacity of the Mughal Emperor, embarked upon a policy of extending his sway towards southern Rajputana, in Bundi, Kota and Rampura.⁴ The internal differences at Bundi made his task easier.

Rao Raja Budh Singh of Bundi had married the half sister of Sawai Jagat Singh.⁵ His second queen was from Begun. The Kachwaha Ram had no offspring, while the Begun queen gave birth to three children. This made her feel jealous and so she claimed that she had given birth to a son. As Budh Singh

1. Girdhar Bahadur was defeated and killed by Chumhaji Appa on November 29, 1728.

2. Raghunath Singh, *op cit* pp 160-62.

3. Sarkar J.N. *Fall of the Mughal Empire* (4 Vols. 2nd edition, Calcutta: MC Sarkar & Sons 1927-32), Vol I, p 136.

4. *Ibid.* p 139.

5. Mishra Surya Mal, Varnana Bhaskar (Jodhpur: Pratap Press 1891) p 222.

refused to own him, so the baby was put to death by Sawai Jai Singh at his request¹. This made him take a keen interest in the affairs of Bundi. Being convinced of the incompetence of Budh Singh to rule, he offered a Jagir to him in Jaipur for his maintenance. Budh Singh did not accept it and reached Begun to counteract Sawai Jai Singh's plans. In the meantime, Sawai Jai Singh seized Bundi and installed Dalel Singh as ruler under the regency of his father Salum Singh². He also secured a grant from the Emperor, Mohammad Shah, to this effect. The condition laid down was that Dalel Singh would acknowledge the supremacy of the house of Jaipur³.

This was unpalatable to Budh Singh who, taking advantage of Sawai Jai Singh's preoccupations in Malwa in 1729, made an attempt to capture Bundi. But his plans were foiled due to the intervention of Sawai Jai Singh⁴. He now became a homeless wanderer. In his hour of peril the Kachwala queen helped him. She planned to seek the help of the Marathas in ousting Dalel Singh from Bundi. Pratap Singh, elder brother of Dalel Singh, was sent to Poona for hiring the Marathas. He secured the help of Malhar Rao Holkar,⁵ and Ranoji Sindhus⁶.

1 Ibid. p. 3027

2 Mishra, *op cit*, pp. 3129-30

3 Sarkar, *op cit*, I, 139.

4 Ibid.

5 The Holkars took their name from their ancestral village of Hol situated about 40 miles from Poona. Malhar Rao Holkar was born in 1693 A.D. His father, Kondaji, died when he was five years old. He was brought up as a shepherd. His daring courage soon attracted the attention of the Peshwa who persuaded him to enter his service as commander of 500 men in 1724. In 1728 he received from the Peshwa a grant of twelve districts north of the Narbada as a reward for his services. In 1731 twenty districts were added to them and at the same time the Peshwa entrusted the Maratha interests in Malwa to his charge. In 1735 he was left as general-in-chief of the Maratha forces north of the Narbada.

6 Ranoji Sindhus in his early life was a domestic servant of very inferior degree in the service of the Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath. He was next appointed in the pagah or bodyguard of the Peshwa. His rise subsequently became very rapid and on his death in 1750 he was taken to be the head of Sindhus family. He was the founder of Sindhus dynasty.

by paying them Rs 6 lakhs¹

The two Maratha leaders brought their hordes to Bundi and captured it on the 22nd of April, 1734. Salim Singh was taken prisoner and Budh Singh was proclaimed ruler. The Kachwaha queen tied the 'Rakhi' thread on Malhar's wrist and looked upon him as her brother². But Budh Singh did not feel enthusiastic about it and did not even come to meet Holkar. Soon after the Marathas left Bundi, a Jaipur force arrived there and restored Daler Singh to the throne³.

The first penetration of the Marathas into Bundi alarmed the Rajput Rajas. Sawai Jai Singh was terrified at their appearance in Bundi. He planned to summon a conference of the leading Rajput Rajas for resisting their menace. Though it was called by Sawai Jai Singh but Maharana Jagat Singh, representing the oldest and the purest race among the Rajputs, was given the honour to preside over its deliberations. The Rajputs⁴ assembled at Hurda, on the outskirts of Mewar, in July, 1734. They took a solemn oath to unite their forces after the rains at Rampura to resist all Maratha incursions⁵. But the Rajputs as had been so often the case in their history were beset with internal jealousies and unable to present a united front to the Marathas. The leading chiefs of Rajputana,⁶ therefore, asked the imperial court to launch a campaign against

1 Raghunath Singh, op cit, p 163

2 Sarkar, op cit, I 140

3 Sharma M L, Kota Rajya ka Itihaas (2 Vols, Kota: Kota Printing Press) Vol I, p 368

4 It was attended by Jagat Singh of Mewar, Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur, Abhay Singh of Jodhpur, Darji Lal of Kota, Jorawar Singh of Bikaner, Daler Singh of Bundi, Gopal Singh of Karauli, Pakht Singh of Nagor and Paj Singh of Bushangarh.

5 (a) Shivam Lal Das Vir Vinod (Udaipur Raj Yantiralsaya) pp 1224-25

(b) Mishra, op cit, pp 3227-28

According to Col Tod, Vol I, p 324 the date of signing the instrument is Sharawan Sudi 13 1791 A S, while according to Mishra, pp 3227-28 the conference took place on Kartik Sudi 13 1791 A S.

6 The Maharajas of Jaipur, Jodhpur, Kota and Bushangarh.

the Marathas and promised their support for it.¹ The Emperor accordingly deputed Khan-i Dauran to lead the Mughal forces towards Malwa. He was assisted by Sawai Jai Singh, Maharaja Abhay Singh of Jodhpur and Maharao Durjan Sal of Kota. The combined forces could not check the advance of the Marathas even after reaching Rampura. Sawai Jai Singh, the subedar of Malwa, was forced to grant them Rs. 22 lakhs as the 'Chauth' of Malwa in 1735. This made his enemies at Delhi remove him from the Subedari of Malwa. It infuriated him and so he promised all help to the Marathas. With his commitments, the Marathas early in 1736, demanded tribute from the Rajput states which had been tributaries to the Emperor. The Peshwa Bajirao, reached Udaipur by way of Dungarpur.² He showed every respect to the Maharana but was reluctant to concede to his demands of tribute. An agreement was signed with the Marathas in February, 1736 by which he agreed to pay Rs. 12,25,000 to the Marathas in eight years.³ But the Marathas continued to press their demands. It appears that the tribute payable was taken to be one lakh and fifty thousand rupees per annum. The Maharana paid the tribute regularly. This was the only tributary engagement that Mewar entered into with the Marathas.⁴

Shortly after this came the invasion of Nadir Shah,⁵ and Bajirao to safeguard the Maratha confederacy won over the Maharana on the score of danger to Hindu religion. The Peshwa offered to contribute a force 75,000 strong if the Maharana assembled 1,25,000 under his banner. He suggested him to enlist the support of Sawai Jai Singh. But, fortunately, Nadir

1 Sandesai: G.S., Selections from the Peshwa Daftar (45 Vols.) Bombay Government Press 1927-31), XIV, letters 21 and 23.

2 Sixty miles south of Udaipur city.

3 (a) Shyamal Das, op. cit., p. 1223. Col Tod gives it to be 1,67,000 Vol. I 329. To cover the payment the 'Parganah' of Baran was ceded to the Marathas. Gerkar I, p. 146.

(b) From 1735-36 to 1742-43.

4 Tod op. cit., I, 329.

5 The King of Iran who ransacked Delhi in 1739 and looted property worth 70 crores.

Shah retreated from Delhi and all were saved from possible disgrace

The internal condition in Mewar was fast deteriorating and the relations between the Maharana, Jagat Singh, and his son were not cordial¹ Nathji, the uncle of the Maharana, imprisoned the prince and subjected him to other humiliations² These dissensions provided an opportunity to the Marathas to enter Mewar They came to Bagar and committed devastations on a huge scale The Maharana despatched his forces under Rawat Prithvi Singh of Kanod and successfully checked their advance³ This success emboldened him to attempt a united front against the Marathas⁴ But soon he had to call in the Marathas as he was engrossed in the war of succession at Jaipur between Ishwari Singh and Madho Singh He sought the help of the Marathas for his nephew, Madho Singh, by promising them a lucrative sum This gave the Marathas an opportunity to make their footing sound there The Peshwa and the other Maratha sardars were constantly in need of money and, as there were no permanent Maratha agents to realise the dues, the Marathas repeated their visits to make good their demands

In February, 1746, Malhar Rao Holkar captured Tanla and proceeded as far as Dungarpur⁵ He then marched to Udaipur where a part of the tribute was realised⁶ Again, in 1747, the Marathas asked for the dues Mewar suffered from a terrible famine so nothing could be advanced to them By the year 1747-48, the arrears of tribute rose to Rs 5,93,999 The Peshwa, Balaji Baji Rao had a meeting with the envoys of the Maharana and it was ultimately reduced to Rs 5,15,000 Out of this Rs 4,08,000 were paid on April 21, 1749⁷

1 Bhyamal Das, *op cit*, p 1227.

2 Ojha, G H *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas* (2 Vols., Ajmer Vedic Yentrakalaya 1936), II, 632-33

3 Ojha, *Udaipur* *op cit* II, 632-33

4 D O & H From Abhay Singh to Sawai Jai Singh, dated 30th Bull 7 1740 V S (12.6.1743)

5 Phalke, A B *Sindohahi Itihasachi Sadhanen* (4 Vols., Gwalior Alajab Darbar Press 1929-30), Vol II, letter No 37

6 Ibid., letter No 44

7 B P D : Vol XXI, letter No. 19

The Rajputs resented the presence of the Marathas. Sawai Madho Singh, Maharao Durjan Sal and Maharana Jagat Singh tried to form a coalition¹ but Jagat Singh's death on June 5, 1751,² caused a setback to this move. However, the rulers continued to perfect their plans against the Marathas. Durjan Sal, by a Kharita dated July 5, 1751, requested Madho Singh to consult Maharana Pratap Singh II about the union against the Marathas.³ The consultations proved of no avail as the disturbed internal conditions in Mewar demanded all the attention of the Maharana. During the short reign of three years, the Marathas made several invasions under Santaji and Jankoji.⁴

During the reign of Rana Pratap Singh II (1751-54) Mewar had to pay heavy contributions to the Marathas.⁵ He was dictated to by a group of sardars, who tried to depose him and crown his uncle, Nathji instead.⁶ This disputed succession weakened Mewar. At such a critical period Maharana Pratap Singh II died and was succeeded by Maharana Raj Singh II (1754-61). His reign witnessed many Maratha inroads. In the beginning of 1755, Malhar Rao Holkar and Raghunath Rao came to Mewar and laid siege to the fort of Lambia. The siege was raised only when the jagirdar agreed to pay tribute.⁷ In the same year Sadashiv Rao, Govind Rao and Nanhoji Jadav levied war contributions upon Mewar.⁸ In March 1757, Raghunath Rao took a ransom of one lakh of rupees from Jawad and plundered Ranikheda.⁹ In 1758, Jankoji Sindhia imposed an extra contribution on the Rana.

1 D O A B. From Maharao Durjan Sal to Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh, dated Phelgun Sudi 15, 1807 V.S. (1.3.1751), Kharita Section.

2 Shyamal Das op cit., p. 1245.

3 D O A B. From Maharao Durjan Sal to Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh dated Shrawan Budi 8, 1808 V.S. (5.7.1751), Kharita Section.

4 (a) Tod op cit. I, 496.

(b) Jankoji was the son of Jayappa, the eldest son of Ranoji Sindhia.

5 S P D. Vol. II, letter No. 34.

6 S P D. Vol. XXI, letter No. 33.

7 S P D. Vol. XXI, letter No. 69.

8 Tod, op cit. I, 496.

9 Sarkar, op cit., II, 191, 196.

Due to these repeated Maratha invasions Mewar could not pay the tribute for the last four years i.e. for 1754-58, and even the promise made to Jankoji Sindhia could not be made good. The Peshwa pressed the Maharana for immediate payment. He asked Malhar Rao Holkar to realise it by force of arms, if it was not voluntarily forthcoming.

When persuasion failed, Malhar Rao Holkar appeared near Malhargarh. The Maharana despatched a respectable army under Pancholi Kashi Nath to drive him away. The attempt of the Maharana bore fruit but it was a temporary success only. The Maharana was at last forced to acquiesce in their demands and handed over the Parganas of Kanjore, Jora, Hunglajgarh, Jamunja and Budha. Thus early in 1760 Mewar was completely dominated by the Marathas. For some time Mewar was relieved of the Maratha invasions due to their preoccupation against Ahmad Shah Abdali,¹ resulting in the third battle of Panipat. After 1761 Mewar was completely engrossed in the succession disputes. Ari Singh's ungovernable temper alienated the nobility. It resulted in a war of succession which offered the Marathas a fresh opportunity to realise their dues from Mewar. During the minority rule of Hamir Singh the internal feuds between the Saktawuts and Chundawuts did the rest. Hardly had these two evils been suppressed when Mewar was again caught in the tangle for the marriage of Princess Krishna Kumari. It gave an opportunity to the Marathas and Anur Khan to complete its ruin.

The next in importance among the Rajput States is the principality of Amber lying between lat $25^{\circ} 40'$ — $27^{\circ} 37'N$ and long $75^{\circ} 8'$ — $77^{\circ} 20'E$ comprising about 150 miles in length from east to west and 140 miles in breadth having an area of 16,251 sq miles.² It is bounded by Patiala and Bikaner in the north and Udaipur, Bundi, Tonk, Kota and Gwalior in the south. In the eastern part are the states of Bharatpur, Jodhpur, Kishangarh and Ajmer in the west. Amber family claims its

¹ Ahmed Shah Abdali was born in 1724 and enlisted in Nadir Shah's services at the age of 13. He accompanied him to India in the famous expedition of 1739. On the assassination of Nadir Shah on June 19, 1747 he usurped all his power and kingdom.

² Thornton, *op. cit.*, II 255

descent from Kusha, the son of Rama, king of Ayodhya, the hero of the famous epic, the Ramayana¹ The early history of the tribe is obscure but it is said to have settled at Rolitas near the Son river² Towards the end of the third century, they migrated to Gwalior and Narwar³ under their leader Raja Nal and ruled this tract for more than eight centuries The descendants of Raja Nal adopted the affix of Pal till Dhola Rai, the 33rd in descent, was expelled in 967 A.D.⁴ and came to Rajputana It was then parcelled out amongst the Meenas He over-ran that tract and founded the kingdom of Dhoondar,⁵ at the present site of Jaipur In 1037 A.D. Kankal, the son of Dhola Rai, wrested Amber from the Susawat Meenas,⁶ and made it his capital It remained such for nearly six centuries and assumed the name of the state⁷ The sixth in descent from Dhola Rai was Pajun who married the sister of Prithvi Raj—the Chouhan Emperor of Delhi—and laid down his life in the first battle of Tarain, in 1191 A.D.⁸ The principality faced many invasions during the Sultanate period at the hands of Illtutmish and Allaiddin Khilji

Prithvi Raj ascended the throne in 1503 A.D. He fought against Babar in the battle of Khanua in 1527 A.D.⁹ and died of wounds His son Puran Mal, however, was in close alliance with prince Hindal and lost his life in 1534 A.D. fighting against Tatar Khan¹⁰ The Kachwahs of Ambar were not in a healthy state and Sharfrauddin, the Mughal Subedar of Ajmer

1 Hamilton Walter, *The East India Gazetteer of Hindustan* Vol II p 40

2 *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol XIII (Gyaraspur to Jais) p 384

3 *The Ruling princes, Chiefs and Leading Personages in Rajputana and Ajmer* p 136

4 Tod, *op cit.* II, 303

5 Thornton, *op cit.*, p 283

6 Batra, H C., *The Relations of Jaipur State with the East India Company* (1st Edition, Delhi: S Chand & Co., 1958), p 1

7 *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (Gyaraspur to Jais) XIII, 385

8 Sharma M.L. *History of the Jaipur State* (Ms.), p 30 It is available with the author at Jaipur

9 *Ibid* p 39

10 Sharma, *op cit.*, p 41

always troubled them¹. The designs of Maldeo² were also aggressive and so Beharimal³ waited upon Akbar, the Mughal Emperor, near Singaner to enlist himself in the imperial service. Behari Mal was the first to get into the imperial service and gave his daughter to Akbar in marriage. Then followed a galaxy of dominant personalities like Bhagwan Dass, Man Singh, Mirza Raja Jai Singh who faithfully served the Mughals.

Sawai Jai Singh ascended the throne in 1699 A.D. and founded the city of Jaipur in 1728. It subsequently became the seat of government⁴. He earned the title of 'Sawai' from the Emperor, Mohammad Shah, which marked the superiority of the bearer to his contemporaries. This title had been borne by all the Kachwahas since his day⁵.

The decline of the Mughal Empire set him to extend his dominions from the Jamuna to the Narbada⁶. The indecisive policy of the Mughal Emperor, Mohammad Shah, regarding the Subedar of Malwa made him adopt a conciliatory attitude towards the Marathas to achieve his ends. During October 1729 and September 1730, when he was the subedar of Malwa, he advised the Emperor to make a compromise with the Marathas to save Malwa from their encroachments. He was unsuccessful and the Maratha encroachments went on unchecked. Sawai Jai Singh, who had been re-appointed as the Subedar of Malwa in September, 1732, was defeated at their hands in February, 1733. He was forced to sue for peace⁷.

The infiltration of the Marathas into Bundi alarmed Sawai Jai Singh. A conference of the principal Rajputs was called to

1 Ojha, *op. cit.* I, 313

2 Maldeo was the ruler of Jodhpur. He was the great grandson of Rao Jodha.

3 Behari Mal ruled Jaipur from 1543-74.

4 Imperial Gazetteer of India (Gwalaspur to Jaipur) XIII, p. 385.

5 Imperial Gazetteer of India (Gwalaspur to Jaipur) XIII, p. 235.

6 Raghbir Singh, *Malwa in Transition*, p. 177.

7 (a) *Ibid.*, p. 6.

(b) He promised an indemnity of six lakhs of rupees and surrendered twenty-nine Parganas of Malwa in lieu of Chouth.

ward off the Maratha menaces, but to no purpose¹ Again, in 1733, when there was a possibility of his removal from the Subedari of Malwa, he preferred to side with the Marathas² The Marathas, having gained a Rajput ally, began to squeeze the Rajputs systematically by making them accept their demands for tribute

Thus the Maratha penetration into Rajputana began during Jai Singh's time It was Sawai Jai Singh who must be held responsible for this The conferring of the Naib Subedari of Malwa on the Peshwa in July, 1741, sealed the prospects of Sawai Jai Singh It paved the way for Maratha intervention in Jaipur The breakdown of the imperial rule helped the Marathas to extend their power over other parts of Rajputana Before his death on September 23, 1743, Sawai Jai Singh conceded half the rights of the districts of Mandalgarh (26 Sarkars) to the Peshwa The Peshwa sent instructions to his generals that half the collected dues should be regularly paid to the agent of the Jaipur State

For many years Jaipur was torn by civil commotions after the succession of Ishwari Singh on the death of Sawai Jai Singh³ His accession was disputed by Madho Singh, Jai Singh's son by a Mewar princess He invoked the treaty of 1708 by which the off-spring of the Sisodia princess was acknowledged to succeed to the state in preference to all other children from other queens Sawai Jai Singh, being conscious of the repercussions that might follow from this, granted him appanage of the four parganas of Tonk, Rampura, Phaggi and Malpura He made the Maharana assign him the Jagir of Rampura Bhanpura in Mewar⁴ Ishwari Singh was the successor of Sawai Jai Singh according to the fixed law of primogeniture but Madho Singh could not content himself with such a small territory Jaipur thus became a prey of lawless soldiery Maharana Jagat Singh supported his nephew, Madho Singh He was not strong enough to succeed

1 Tod, op cit., I, 329

2 Raghubar Singh, *Malwa in Transition* p 149

3 Banerjee A C *The Rajput States and the East India Company* (1st edition, Calcutta A Makherjee & Co 1931) p 317

4 Tod op cit II 293.99

single-handed. He invoked the help of the Marathas and won over Malhar Rao Holkar in 1746¹. Umed Singh of Bundi and Maharao Durjan Sal of Kota also supported Madho Singh.² The combined forces fought a battle at Rajmahal in 1747 but Har Gobind Natana inflicted a crushing defeat on them. For a time, Ishwari Singh seemed secure on the throne. By the end of the year, he left for Delhi when the Emperor summoned him to fight against Ahmad Shah Abdali.³ He stayed there till the end of March, 1748.⁴

Taking advantage of the absence of Ishwari Singh, Maharana Jagat Singh prevailed upon the Peshwa⁵ to uphold the rights of Madho Singh. The Peshwa who was badly in debt, accepted the proposal. A Maratha army under Malhar Rao Holkar entered Jaipur territory and defeated Ishwari Singh in the battle of Bagru in August, 1748.⁶ He purchased a respite from the Maratha invaders by surrendering some parganas⁷ to Madho Singh. He also promised an indemnity to the Marathas.

Ishwari Singh was unable to pay the dues of the Marathas because of his distracted finances. Madho Singh and Maharana Jagat Singh were also not happy at the outcome of events. The Maharana again committed to pay sixty-four lakhs of rupees to Malhar Rao Holkar for his help against Ishwari Singh.⁸ Malhar Rao reached Jaipur in 1750. Finding himself unable to resist the Maratha invasion, Ishwari Singh committed suicide (December, 1750). As Col Tod puts it, "a dose of poison gave Madho Singh the Gadi, Holkar his bribe and the Marathas firm hold upon Rajputana".⁹ The Marathas subsequently raised their demands and asked for the surrender of one-fourth of the territory of Jaipur. Madho Singh opposed it. He unsuccessfully attempted to poison the Maratha sardars. It was

1 Mallison op cit. p. 33

2 Itagubir Singh, Purva op cit. p. 169

3 Das, Lakshman, History of Kota State (Misc.) (Kota ka Daftar, Kota)

4 Sanyal Das op cit., II, 1236-37

5 Balaji Baji Rao

6 Banerjee, op cit., p. 347

7 The parganas were Tonk Rampura Bhanpura Phaggi and Malpura.

8 Tod, op cit., I 338

9 Ibid

followed by a riot in the city. Some fifteen hundred Marathas perished¹ and almost an equal number was wounded. Madho Singh disclaimed all responsibility for it. He conciliated them by promising twelve lakhs of rupees,² as compensation for the murder of the Maratha sardars in his capital. The Marathas left Jaipur early in 1751.³ It was laid down by Shahu, the Maratha King, that he should receive half a lakh out of the actual collections made every year and the rest to be shared equally between Sindhia and Holkar,⁴ the two leading houses of the Marathas. As no money had been paid for over a year and a half, a Maratha army under Raghunath Rao and Malhar Rao Holkar invaded Jaipur towards the close of 1753. They forced Madho Singh to pay sixteen and a half lakhs of rupees.⁵ Out of this more than 10 lakhs were paid in 1755.⁶ After Jayappa Sindhia's murder by a Rathor, Madho Singh joined Maharaja Bijay Singh of Marwar and made an unsuccessful attempt, in October 1755, to dislodge the Marathas from Rajputana. So they made peace with the Marathas in February 1756. In March 1757, Raghunath Rao was again ordered by the Peshwa to invade Jaipur and realise the dues. He reached Jaipur and laid siege to Larwada in the Shekhawati. He demanded forty to fifty lakhs of rupees in addition to the surrender of Rampura, Bhanpura, Tonk, Toda and Hinglajgarh and the jagirs attached to the fort of Ranthambore.⁷ Sawai Madho Singh determined to resist these excessive demands. On the other hand, Raghunath Rao was passing through hard times and so he lowered his demands to 11 lakhs.⁸ Out of this six lakhs were paid immediately. By the end of July, 1757, the Marathas left Jaipur.

Again, in the year 1758, Jankoji Sindhia came to Jaipur and coerced Madho Singh into making a promise of Rs 30 lakhs.

1 Banerjee op cit., p 348

2 Sarkar op cit II 122

3 Ibid I 165-71

4 Ibid, II, 122

5 Banerjee op cit., p 349

6 Ibid.

7 Sarkar op cit II, 136

8 Ibid., p 137

to be paid in four yearly equal instalments. To the first instalment of Rs. 9 lakhs was added the Nazar of three lakhs.¹ Having reached an agreement Jankoji left Jaipur.

The Jaipur state did not pay anything out of it during 1758-59.² The total amount stood at Rs. 55,14,916.³ Malhar Rao came to Jaipur in 1759 and gained some success against the feudatories. Before he could make them amenable to his demands, he received urgent calls from Dattaji Sindhia⁴ to march against Ahmad Shah Abdali. He left Jaipur on January 2, 1760. Jaipur enjoyed peace throughout 1760. These annual visitations established at length a right to tribute, which was fixed at Rs. 1,60,000 per annum.⁵

After 1761 Madho Singh unsuccessfully planned to oust the Marathas. He was defeated in the battle of Bhatwara and compelled to sue for peace. His death was followed by prolonged anarchy and turmoil in Jaipur. During the minority rule of Prithvi Singh (1768-78) the relations with the Marathas were cordial for some time. Pratap Singh who ascended the throne in 1778 fought an indecisive battle against the Marathas in 1787. Soon Jaipur was humbled in 1790 at Patan by Mahadji Sindhia. Jaipur promised to pay the Maratha dues. Again by 1798 Jaipur had become defaulter and was defeated by Daulat Rao Sindhia's forces in the battle of Fatchpur and later on Malpura. Jaipur signed the treaty with the company in 1803 but it was soon abandoned. Jaipur was plundered by the Marathas and Amir

1 Gupta, H. P. : *Marathas and Panipat* (1st edition, Chandigarh: Punjab University, 1961), p. 40.

2 (a) D. O. A. B. : From Raghunath Bajji Rao to Sawai Madho Singh dated Kartik Sudi 10, 1814 V.S.

(b) D. O. A. B. : From Jankoji Sindhia to Sawai Madho Singh dated Magh Sudi 10, 1815 V.S.

(c) D. O. A. B. : From Balaji Bajji Rao to Sawai Madho Singh dated Magh Sudi 1, 1815 V.S.

3 Gupta, H. P. : *Marathas and Panipat*, p. 40.

4 Dattaji Sindhia was the brother of Jaysappa, the eldest son of Ranoji Sindhia.

5 The Peshkash paid by the Rajput States did not belong to one Maratha Sardar only, of every rupee paid six annas belonged to the Peshwa, five to Sindhia and an equal amount to Ho'kar.

Khan during 1805-18 due to her involvement in the tussle for the hand of Krishna Kumari which came to an end when treaty with the Company was again signed in 1818

Next in importance to Udaipur and Jaipur is the state of Marwar¹ It lies between lat $24^{\circ} 36'$ — $27^{\circ} 40'$ and long $20^{\circ} 4'$ — $75^{\circ} 23'$ It is the most extensive of the Rajput states and is bounded on the north-west by Jaisalmere, on the north by Bikaner and Shekhawati, on the east by Jaipur, Kishangarh and Ajmer, on the south by Udaipur and Sirohi² It has an area of 35,762 sq miles Marwar is a corrupt form of Maroo-war, the region of death, and came to be known as Jodhpur when the city was founded in 1459 A D The Maharaja of Jodhpur is the head of the Rathors The Rathors claim their descent from Rama, the deified king of Ayodhya The original name of this clan was 'Rashtrakuta'³ and this word after passing through Prakrit has crystallised into 'Rathor'⁴ The Rashtrakutas ruled over a part of Deccan up to 973 A D when they were defeated by the Chalukyas and came to Kanauj They founded the new dynasty of Gaharwar There were seven kings of this dynasty The last was Jai Chand He was expelled⁵ from his capital Kanauj by Shahabuddin Mohammad Ghorī in 1194 A D His grandsons, Siyaji and Sait Ram offered their services to the chief of Kolumund⁶ who was at war with a neighbouring clan.⁷ Though victory greeted the chief of Kolumund but Sait Ram met his death Siyaji then conquered the neighbouring tract from the Gohal Rajputs and planted the standard of the Rathors amidst the sand hills of the river Luni The foundation of the state now called Jodhpur thus dates from 1212 A D Rao Chand, the tenth ruler conquered Mandor,⁸ the ancient capital of Maru

1 Aitchison, C A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sunnuds relating to India and neighbouring countries (9 Vols, Government of India, 1909) Vol III, p 89

2 Thornton *op cit* II 321

3 Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol XIV (Jaisalmer to Kora) p 182

4 The Ruling Princes, p 10

5 Feriasta Vol I p 178

6 20 Miles from Bikaner

7 Malletson *op cit* p 39

8 About 5 miles north of Jodhpur city situated in $26^{\circ} 21'N$ and $73^{\circ} 2'E$.

or Marwar in 1381 A D ¹ He was killed at Nagor² in 1402 A D and was succeeded by his son Rao Rimmul It was in the time of Jodha that the seat of the government was shifted from Mandor to Jodhpur, a fort and residence which he had built a few miles to the south ³ Jodha died in 1459 A D It was during the time of his great grandson Maldeo that the Rathors came into conflict with the Mughals

Maldeo fortified Jodhpur and recaptured Ajmer and Nagor ⁴ When invaded by Sher Shah Suri, he recruited an army, 50,000 strong, and put the former into an embarrassing position Sher Shah was able to save himself solely by creating suspicion in Maldeo's mind about his adherents

It was in the year 1561 that Akbar invaded Jodhpur and compelled Maldeo to sue for peace He was succeeded by his third son Udai Singh who acknowledged the suzerainty of Akbar and got his sister Jodha Bai, married to the Emperor ⁵ He got all the districts wrested from Marwar excepting Ajmer, and in return supplied the Imperial Army with troops There were constant clashes between Marwar and the Mughals due to religious bigotry of Aurangzeb, though the Jodhpur house had rendered valuable services to the Emperor After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, Jodhpur became reconciled to the Marathas

The Maratha invasions in Gujrat had been increasing rapidly Maharaja Abhay Singh was granted the Subedari of Gujrat in 1730 in place of Sarbuland Khan to check the Marathas But even he could not achieve any success A few years later, the first interference of the Marathas in the internal dissensions at Bundi served as an eye opener to the Rajputs Maharaja Abhay Singh attended the conference at Hurda in 1734 for making a united front against the Marathas The decision reached there remained a show piece Abhay Singh accompanied the Mughal forces under Khan i Duran but could not succeed

1 The Ruling Princes, p. 10

2 Situated in 27° 12'N and 73° 44'E

3 Alitchson, *op cit.*, III, 89

4 Malleson, *op cit.*, p. 43

5 *Ibid.*, p. 44

against the Marathas who looted Sambhar¹ The Mughal power was collapsing rapidly and the Marathas were stepping into their shoes

Up to the death of Maharaja Abhay Singh in June, 1749, the Marathas had profitably intensified their activities in Rajputana and interfered in the disputes of the Rajputs Jodhpur had up to this time withstood the Maratha penetration On his death his son Ram Singh succeeded. His arrogant nature soon brought him into conflict with his uncle, Bakht Singh, who was the governor of Gujrat since 1748 The Mughal Emperor, Ahmad Shah, agreed to help him against Ram Singh He, in turn, agreed to oust the Marathas from the provinces of Ajmer and Agra and establish the Mughal sway there Mir Bakshi, Salabat Khan, was sent to assist him² Ram Singh secured the support of Ishwari Singh also Some decisive engagements were fought between the two forces, but before they could be concluded, Salabat Khan in April, 1750, made a compromise with Ram Singh But a few months later Bakht Singh defeated Ram Singh He then retired towards Jaipur Bakht Singh ruled Jodhpur for nearly a year, from July, 1751, to September, 1752 In between, Ram Singh again attempted to win over the Marathas and deputed Purohit Jagu to Malhar Rao Holkar for espousing his cause A Maratha army, 5,000 strong, was sent under Jayappa³ which devastated Ajmer⁴ Bakht Singh also encamped near Ajmer After brief skirmishes he made the Marathas retire⁵ The sudden death of Bakht Singh gave the Marathas a long awaited opportunity to meddle in the affairs of his kingdom

Bijay Singh succeeded his father in 1752 to a disputed throne He was recognised by the Emperor as the chief of

1 Raghuraj Singh, *Purva*, op cit., p 164

2 Banerjee, op cit., p 318

3 (a) The eldest son of Ranoji Sindhia

(b) Sarkar, op cit., II, 123-24

4 A large and important city in Rajputana situated in 26° 27'N and 74° 37'E It lies at the foot of Taragarh hill

5 Col Tod says that the Marathas deemed it unadvisable to interfere for they did not foresee any opportunity to further their interests Vol II,

the families of Bikaner, Kishangarh and Roopnagar¹ But Ram Singh could not be reconciled He again attempted to win over the Marathas to his side A Maratha army under Raghunath Rao was in Rajputana at this time to collect the dues from the Rajputs² Ram Singh sent his deputies to win over the Maratha general and succeeded to enlist the support of Jayappa Sindhia³ Bijay Singh summoned Maharaja Gaj Singh to his side⁴ The succession dispute brought the Maratha hordes to Jodhpur Bijay Singh fell back upon Merta Small skirmishes followed At last, a battle was fought on Ashwin Budi 13, 1811, V S⁵ (September 14, 1754), in which Bijay Singh was defeated He fled towards Nagor⁶ Ram Singh and Jayappa Sindhia followed him and laid siege to it

The Peshwa advised Jayappa not to be harsh with the Rathor King and to conclude the Marwar campaign quickly, for the presence of the Maratha forces was urgently required in other parts He even asked him to partition Marwar equally between the two⁷ But Jayappa did not pay any heed to his instructions He prolonged his stay there He was bent upon winning the whole of Marwar for Ram Singh The siege was seriously conducted, which unnerved Bijay Singh Peace proposals were made,⁸ but the exorbitant demands of the Maratha chief sealed its prospects Jayappa clung to the trenches and rejected the offers of Malhar Rao Holkar and Sakha Ram Bapu to come to his rescue⁹

The Rathors were not able to get garrisons The feeling of exasperation grew so bitter that the Rathors successfully executed their plan of putting Jayappa to death¹⁰ Confusion

1 Tod *op cit.* II, p. 97

2 Sarkar, *op cit.* II, 121

3 Ibid

4 Ojha G.H., *History of the Jodhpur States* (2 Vols. Ajmer Vedic Yantralaya 1941), Vol. II, p. 693

5 Sitamow Jodhpur Rajya ki Khayat (Ms.), Vol III, p. 5

6 Shyamal Das, *op cit.*, II, 832-33

7 Sarkar *op cit.* II 126

8 Powless, *Gazetteer of the Bikaner State* p. 62

9 Sarkar, *op cit.* II, 126.

10 Ojha, Jodhpur, *op cit.* II, 700

and turmoil prevailed in the Maratha camp. Every Rajput worth the name was slaughtered.

But the murder did not prove useful to Bijay Singh for Jankoji was soon proclaimed the successor, under the guidance of Dattaji¹. The Peshwa despatched Antaji Mankeshwar to help the Maratha forces². Bijay Singh planned to utilise this period in driving out the Marathas from northern India. He enlisted the support of Gaj Singh³ and Madho Singh⁴. Dattaji defeated the combined forces of the Rajput Rajas and made Bijay Singh sue for peace⁵. It was concluded on the following terms: (a) Bijay Singh promised to pay Rs. 50 lakhs as war indemnity, half of which was to be paid in one year and the balance in the next two years, (b) Half of the territory of Marwar with the city of Jalor was to be delivered to Ram Singh and the rest to be retained by him, (c) The fort and district of Ajmer was to be ceded to the Marathas⁶. Having achieved the submission of the Rathors, Dattaji left Marwar at the end of February 1756.

Excepting the last condition Bijay Singh could not comply with the rest of the terms. Because of his pecuniary difficulties he was constantly on the look out for some favourable opportunity when he could ask the Maratha leaders to lower their demands. Such an opportunity came when Raghunath Rao came to Rajputana in June, 1757, and the Marwar Munsters vainly tried for his intervention. Marwar henceforth became the hunting ground of the Sindhia family.

1 Dattaji was the second son of Ranoji who was killed at Radber.

2 Sarkar, *op cit*, II 133.

3 Powlett *Gazetteer of Bikaner State*, pp. 62-63.

4 Banerjee *op cit*, p. 318.

5 Gahlot Jagdish Singh, *Marwar Rajva Ka Itihas* (Jodhpur, 1925), p. 174.

6 Sarkar, *op cit* II 134. Jodhpur Rajva Ki Khayat mentions the sum to be fifty one lakhs out of which a part payment was made and for the rest Fatch Chand and Singhvi Budh Mul were kept as securities. Vol III p. 12. Dayal Dass mentions the sum at Rs. twenty lakhs. Vol II letter No. 81.

Bijay Singh always dreaded the Maratha invasion, for he was the defaulter. He was also suspicious of the designs of his rival Ram Singh. Under such a set of circumstances Marwar passed through a period of 'uneasy peace',¹ up to 1760.

Being far off from Maratha approach Jodhpur was comparatively saved from their encroachments. Jodhpur participated in anti Maratha coalitions sponsored by Bijay Singh and Maharao Chatrusal. Again Jodhpur formed a coalition with Sawai Partap Singh in 1787 and fought an indecisive battle against Mahadji Sindhia. Soon afterwards Jodhpur was defeated at the battle of Merta by Mahadji in 1790 and compelled to sue for peace. After that Jodhpur enjoyed peace for some time when again she was humbled by Daulat Rao Sindhia's forces in 1800 at the battle of Malpura where Jodhpur had sent forces to assist Madho Singh. Jodhpur was involved in the marriage tangle which completed her ruin at the hands of the Marathas and Amir Khan till she was taken under the protection of the company.

The Hadas occupy a prominent position in Rajputana and their prosperity had always attracted marauders. Kota was subjected to much degradation at the hands of the Marathas as it lay in their march towards the North. The early history of Kota is part and parcel of the history of Bundi.

The Hadas of Bundi are a branch of the Chauhan race. When Chauhans of Nadol were defeated by Qutubuddin Aibek one of their leaders, Manik Rai, founded a small kingdom at Batwanda, south east of Mewar.² Sixth in descent from Manik Rai was Har Rai whose name became the patronymic of their branch.³ Bundi came under the possession of the Hadas in 1241 A.D. when Devi Singh son of Banga Dev, captured it from the Mernas by a stratagem. In 1264, his son, Samar Singh, extended the Hada dominions beyond the river Chambal and founded the city of Kota.⁴ In 1463, Bundi came under the do-

1 Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 319

2 Sharma, *op. cit.*, I, 56

3 Ibid

4 Sharma, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 1678-79

mination of Malwa but was soon reclaimed by Narain Das. He joined Rana Sanga against Babar at the battle of Khanua.¹ Rao Surjan rendered valuable services to Akbar in extending his dominions.² He was granted 52 districts and the title of Rao Raja³ by the Emperor. It was during the time of Shah Jahan that Madhu Singh, the second son of Rao Ratan Singh, was given Kota for his distinguished services in the battle of Burhanpur.⁴

Before we take up the state of Kota, let us have a bird's-eye view of the affairs at Bundi, which had been the cause of inviting the Marathas to Rajputana. The rivalry between Dilel Singh and Budli Singh for the throne of Bundi brought the hordes of Malhar Rao Holkar in 1734 A.D. After the death of Budli Singh the struggle was carried on by his son Ummed Singh till, in 1748, he succeeded to the throne with the help of Malhar Rao Holkar. Ummed Singh promised to give him ten lakhs of rupees for it. Out of this 2 lakhs were paid in 1749, another three lakhs were assigned by the Raja in 1751 to Malhar Rao Holkar and Jayappa equally. The balance of five lakhs was to be paid to the Satara treasury along with the 'Chouth' from Bundi and Nenwa.⁵

When Madho Singh became the independent ruler of Kota, it was bounded by Gagron and Ghatoli in the south, Mangrol and Nahargarh in the east, Sultanpur in the west⁶ and contained three hundred and sixty townships.⁷ Madho Singh died in Samvat 1687, leaving five sons who supported the cause of their benefactor, Shah Jahan, against his son Aurangzeb in the battle of Ujjain, where four of them were slain and Kishor Singh was given up as dead.⁸ He afterwards recovered and

1 *Ibid.*, p. 2029

2 *Tod, op cit* II 394

3 *Mallison op cit* p. 61

4 *Ibid.* pp. 61-62

5 *S.P.D.* Vol. XIV letter No. 23

6 *Tod op cit* II, 409

7 *Mallison op cit* p. 68

8 *Thornton op cit* III 532

displayed great military talents in the service of the Mughals. His second son Ram Singh succeeded him and aided with Prince Mohammad Azam against Mouzzam¹ in the contest for throne following the death of Aurangzeb.² Ram Singh met his death in the battle. Bhim Singh then occupied the Gadi. He was the first of his dynasty upon whom was conferred the title of Maharao or Great Prince by the Rana of Udaipur, the head of all Rajput tribes, and confirmed by the paramount power.³ Durjan Sal⁴ ascended the throne in 1724 A.D. It was during his time that the Marathas laid their hands on the territories of Kota following the succession tussle at Bundi.

The interference of the Marathas in the succession dispute at Bundi in 1734 A.D. made the Rajputs conscious of the increasing threat from the Marathas. So when a conference was convened by Sawai Jai Singh at Hurda to find means for successfully checking Maratha encroachments, Maharao Durjan Sal participated in it.⁵ The Rajputs were so much absorbed in their futile factional pursuits that the decision to assemble at Rampura after the rains and launch an offensive to drive out the Marathas was forgotten.

The failure of their joint efforts led them to find shelter with the Mughals. Durjan Sal accompanied a vast Mughal force under Khan-i-Dauran to oust the Marathas from Malwa.⁶ But even after reaching Rampura they could not check the Marathas. They were forced to cede the rights of the Chouth

1. Mouzzam was the oldest son of Aurangzeb. Mohammad Azam was younger to him. Mouzzam was in Afghanistan and Azam in Ahmed Nagar at the time of Aurangzeb's death. Mouzzam declared himself king and assumed the title of Bahadur Shah. A battle was fought between the two near Samugarh on June 18, 1707. Azam was killed in it.

2. *The Ruling Princes*, p. 103.

3. *Tod op cit*, II, 414.

4. Durjan Sal was the son of Maharao Bhim Singh and succeeded to the throne after the death of his brother Arjun Singh who ruled Kota from 1720-1724 A.D.

5. Shyamal Das *op cit*, pp. 1220-21.

6. Itaglabar Singh, *op cit*, p. 163.

of Malwa to them. The last vestige of collective security had thus been shattered to pieces and with it the influence of the Marathas grew rapidly in Rajputana.

The Peshwa, Bajirao, in the summer of 1736, started from Poona towards Delhi and by passed Kota this time. Maharao Durjan Sal adopted a posture of welcoming him and provided ample supplies,¹ for he knew that Emperor, Mohammad Shah, would not be able to meet the challenge. Therefore, he did not want to antagonise the Peshwa. He was thus able to save his kingdom for some time. The Peshwa also did not like to offend him at the moment, for he knew that he might have to return the same way and would have to face a hostile enemy. So on his return from Delhi he attacked Kota. The siege dragged on for forty days, till the peace negotiations were opened. Maharao Durjan Sal accepted a fine of ten lakhs imposed by the Peshwa.² Eight lakhs were paid immediately and the rest were promised in bonds which were never honoured.³

This expedition and the consequent humiliation to which Kota was subjected did not prove to be effective. Durjan Sal again took sides with the Nizam against the Marathas in 1738 but was defeated by Malhar Rao Holkar and Jaswant Rao Panwar. They attacked Kota after peace was concluded at Doraha Sarai. The fort was besieged and the adjoining districts were plundered. The Maharao accepted the overlordship of the Marathas and agreed to pay them Rs 10 lakhs.⁴ Balaji Yashwant Gulgule was kept there to look after Maratha interests and realise the dues.⁵

For some time Kota enjoyed respite from the ravages of the Marathas. In 1743, the Maharao interfered in the affairs of Bundi to help Ummed Singh to get back his kingdom. Ummed Singh occupied Bundi with the help of Kota forces.⁶ But Ummed

1 Sharma Kota, op cit, II, 371

2 Phalke op cit, I, dated 1738

3 Mishra op cit Part IV, 3249

4 Sarkar op cit I, 151-52

5 Phalke, op cit, I, 3

6 Mishra op cit Part IV, p 3371

was again made and he was sent back by providing as little as possible. In 1753, Kota sent customary presents to Jankoji when he ascended the Gadi after the death of his father.

At this time Maharao Durjan Sal died in August 1756¹ and was succeeded by his grandson Ajit Singh.² Ranoji Sindhia, who was the most powerful of all the Maratha Sardars—Malhar Rao Holkar, Yashwant Rao Panwar—was much annoyed when Ajit Singh occupied the throne without getting his sanction. He came to Kota and demanded a succession fee. Kota, seeing the designs of the Marathas, agreed to pay Rs 40 lakhs as 'Nazrana' to the Maratha Sardar.³ It was decided to pay this amount in four equal yearly instalments.⁴ The Marathas under Malhar Rao Holkar and Raghunath Rao again extracted Rs 7,000 in the same year.⁵

By the end of the year 1756, Maharao Ajit Singh made an attempt to fix the Maratha dues. The total amount of arrears was fixed by Himmat Singh Jhala and the Maratha chiefs at Rs 56,90,000.⁶ Akhay Ram Pancholi and Zahim Singh took over the task of paying this amount even in the face of poor income of the state which stood at Rs 40,00,000 per annum. Between 1756 and 1759 Kota paid to the Marathas an amount of Rs 27,90,000 and it was decided in 1760 that the balance of Rs 28,00,000 would be paid in annual instalments of Rs 3,00,000 each.⁷ The settlement was made on behalf of Kota by Zahim Singh, Akhay Ram Pancholi and Ram Krishan Pancholi.⁸

In between 1758-60, Jankoji Sindhia came to Kota at a

1 Sitamow Gulgule Daftar & Registers, Letter from Maharao Ajit Singh to Balaji dated Shrawan Sudi 7, 1818 V S (78 1761)

2 A.O.K. Bhandar No 1, Haste No 57, Samvat 1813 (July 1756 to July, 1757)

3. *Ibid*

4. Phalke *op cit*, I Letter Nos 179-180

5 Sharma, *op cit* II 415

6. A.O.K. Bhandar No 1, Haste No. 57, Samvat 1813 (July 1756 to July 1757)

7 A.O.K. Haste Lekha Ganaman ko, Samvat 1817 (1760-61)

8 *Ibid*

time when Maharao Ajit Singh had expired. He realised Rs two lakhs from the new Maharao, Chatrusal, as 'Nazarana'.¹ A few months later, the country near Indergarh, Khatoli, Pilpalda and Sheopur was attacked by the Marathas. Pandit Tantia was sent to resist the devastation who bought them off. As Kota was in their way, so she had to surrender to the Maratha demands. In 1760, Malhar Rao passed with his army through Kota and Maharao Chatrusal sent him some gifts through Akhay Ram. Again, on his return from Delhi, he encamped near Nimana and was offered Rs 51,000.

The state papers do not clearly bring out the amount of annual tribute payable by Kota to the Marathas at the time when Kota became a feudatory of the Marathas. The entries tend to show that an annual tribute of Rs 5 lakhs was presumably decided upon between the two, which was to be shared between Sindhia, Holkar and Panwar. Since the time when Kota became a feudatory till the appointment of Zalim Singh as the 'Faujdar' of Kota in 1765, the total amount payable by Kota came to Rs one crore and 35 lakhs, which together with the amount of impositions, came to more than two crores. But we have no definite information as to how much was paid up to 1761. The accounts forwarded by the vakils of Sindhia in 1744, 1747, 1757 and 1758 relate to special items or only to Sindhia's share therein.²

After 1761 Kota like other Rajput states participated in anti-Maratha coalitions. Kota was subjected to the attacks of the Marathas off and on. Zalim Singh, the 'Faujdar', dominated the affairs of Rajputana till his death and by his diplomatic moves satisfied the Marathas and saved Kota from their attacks a number of times. Kota was the first of the Rajput states to sign the treaty of alliance with the Company in 1818 and was thus saved from the encroachments of the Marathas.

Chapter 2

The Resentment of Rajput States Over Maratha Domination (1761-76)

During this period several attempts were made by the Rajputs to dislodge the Marathas from Rajputana. Sawai Madho Singh initiated it but was defeated in the battle of Mangrol. Guman Singh of Kota and Jawahar Singh of Bharatpur unsuccessfully tried to form coalitions against the Marathas. After the death of Sawai Madho Singh, the relations between the Marathas and the Rajputs were cordial for some time. The Maratha generals by their plundering activities spoiled them.

The news of the arrival of Ahmad Singh Abdali in the Punjab alarmed the Marathas. The impending battle made the Peshwa to recall his generals from Rajputana. Hectic preparations were seen in the Maratha camp. The Peshwa ordered Sadashiv Rao Bhau¹ to command the Maratha forces against the invader. He sent deputations to the Rajput courts to win them over to his side. But the predatory incursions and forced impositions of the Marathas had completely alienated the sympathies of the Rajputs². So they decided to watch the out-

1 Sada Shiv Rao Bhau was the cousin of Peshwa Balaji. He had successfully conducted wars in the south.

2 (a) D O A B. From Inder Singh to Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh, dated Phalgun Badi 14 1816 V S (15 2 1760), Kharita Section, Bundle No 10.

(Contd. on next page)

come of the battle in a detached manner¹ Sadashiv Rao Bhaui's invitation to Madho Singh and others to send a contingent to repel the menace of Abdali was not heeded by them² The Kachwaha Raja instead deputed Sadhu Singh, Dhaju Singh and Mool Chand to the court of Ahmad Shah to ask what his intentions were³ He even actively conspired to help Abdali as asked by him⁴ Because of his hatred of the Marathas Madho Singh made the other seventeen Kachwaha sardars sign a deed under threat of being excommunicated, if they broke their neutrality in the conflict between Mohammedans and Marathas⁵

(Contd. from previous page)

(b) D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh to Peshwa Madhavi Rao dated Chaitra Sudi 9, 1817 V S (23 3 1760) Kharita Section

(c) D O A B From Bapuji to Sawai Madho Singh dated Bhrawan Sudi 6, 1819 V S (12 7 1762), Arziat Section Bundle No 15

1 Tikhar R Sharipat (Sardesai Commemoration Volume, Bombay Keshav Bhikaji Dhawale (1938) p 144

Duff, J Grant History of the Marathas (Vol I 3rd edition, Times of India Office 1873), pp 313 15

Bijay Singh had signed an agreement, through the good offices of Karnidan, with Jankoji in January 1761, to help the Marathas against Abdali Jankoji promised that he would not help his rival, Ram Singh. In spite of this Bijay Singh remained neutral during the faithful contest as he was afraid of the Abdali menace and at the same moment he did not favour to renew hostilities with the Marathas S P D XXI 187

2 Ibid

3 D O A B Dastari records, Basta No 9, File No 4, letter No 1, dated Magh Sudi 7 1817 V S (11 2 1761) From Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh

4 D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh to Maharaja Sawant Singh dated Phalgun Sudi 8, 1817 (14 3 1761) Draft Kharita Bundle No 9

5 D O A B : Agreement between Madho Singh and seventeen Kachwaha sardars dated Jyesth Sudi 9 1816 V S (20 5 1759) No 778 Kapat-dwara The Seventeen Kachwahas were as follows : Jaswant Singh Gulab Singh of Nagru, Jodh Singh, Jagat Singh, Nand Singh, Rao Bikramaditya Dalal Singh Rajawat, Rao Sardar Singh Zalim Singh Nathawat, Ratan Singh Nathawat, Sultan Singh Naruka, Salim Singh, Chhaju Ram Naruka, Chand Singh, Fateb Singh, Ajit Singh and Dalal Singh

Abdali also intimated to Madho Singh of his intention to crush the Maratha power. He requested him to keep engaged those Maratha soldiers who were quartered in his dominions so that they might not reach the battle-field.¹ The Maharaja therefore attacked the Marathas in his dominions. He captured their 'thanas'² of Udairana, Khetri³ and Paharikhor.⁴

The defeat of the Marathas at the hands of Ahmed Shah Abdali in the third battle of Panipat on January 14, 1761 swept away every chance of Maratha predominance for the time being. The fog of their invincibility was dispersed.⁵ Under Malhar Rao Holkar and Madhav Rao Sindhia, commonly known as Mahadji Sindhia,⁶ the Marathas recovered from this defeat in less than a decade.

The Marathas had completely overtaken Rajputana by their ravaging activities. Therefore, the Rajputs did not hesitate

1 D O A B From Ahmad Shah Abdali to Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh, No 197 Kapat dwara.

2 D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh to Maharaja Sawant Singh dated Bhadra Badi 5 1817 V S (31 8 1760), Draft Kharita, Bundle No 9.

3 D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh to Bhoop Singh, Nawal Singh Anoop Ram, Sampat Rai, Arjun Rai, Pawar Singh, Mubarak Rai, Kishan Singh, Ummed Singh, and Naruka Rao Anoop Karan Singh of Pipal Khedi, dated Chaitra Sudi 2, 1817 V S (19 3. 1760) Draft Kharita Bundle No 9.

4 (a) D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh to Raja Hari Singh, dated Baisakh Badi 7, 1817 V S (7 4 1760) Draft Kharita, Bundle No 9.

(b) D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh to Raja Hari Singh dated Asadh Badi 5 1817 V S (4 6 1760), Draft Kharita, Bundle No 9.

5 Gupta H R Marathas and Panipat (Vol I, 1st edition, Chandigarh, Panjab University, 1961) p 261 Sethi, R R 'Consequences of the Battle'.

6 Mahadji Sindhia was an illegitimate son of the Patel of Kamar Khora, 16 miles from Satara the slipper bearer Ranoji Sindhia. Ranoji left five sons. Mahadji was the younger but one. All his brothers, namely, Jayappa, Dattaji, Takuji and Jotiba, died before the third battle of Panipat.

even to side with foreigners against them. This attitude of the Rajputs was not liked by the Marathas. The return of Ahmad Shah Abdali¹ was a signal for the Marathas to commence their predatory incursions in Rajputana once again.

Soon after the debacle of Panipat, the Rajput princes stopped the payment of tribute to the Marathas.² Madho Singh made a systematic attempt to dislodge the Marathas from Rajputana. He began to look for allies and sent envoys to Najib Khan, Yakub Ali, and the Emperor,³ Shah Alam II. He also deputed Barhet Karnadan to Jodhpur⁴ to seek help against the Marathas. The rulers of Mewar,⁵ Kota,⁶ Bundi and Karauli⁷ were also invited. There was no effective response from either the Rohilas or the emperor. The past jealousies of the Rajputs came in the way of their union against the Marathas. Mewar was weak and had an inexperienced youth⁸ at the head of affairs. Jodhpur, the only powerful state next to Jaipur, persisted in her hostile attitude encouraged by the support that Ram Singh⁹ was getting from Madho Singh, which might cost Bijay Singh his throne. At the same time Bijay Singh disliked the idea of antagonising Mahadji Sindhua with whom he had formed a treaty in Posh, 1817 VS (December 1760) against

1. Abdali gained the victory at so great a cost that he returned to his highlands early in March, 1761. His ambitions were baulked by the mutiny of his soldiers.

2. S.P.D. : Vol. XXIX, letter No. 21, dated 27.10.1761.

3. (a) S.P.D. Vol. XXIX, letter No. 19, dated 27.10.1761.
(b) Sharma, *op. cit.*, II, p. 437.

4. D.O.A.B. *Dastari records*. Basta No. 9. File No. 4. letter No. 1, dated Phalgun Sudi 9, 1817 VS (15.3.1761). From Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh.

5. Sharma, *op. cit.*, II, p. 437.

6. S.P.D. Vol. II, letter No. 18, dated October 1761.

7. D.O.A.B. : From Brij Nath Pondrik to Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh, dated Baisakh Sudi 4, 1818 VS (8.5.1761), *Arziat Section*, Bundle No. 15.

8. Maharana Raj Singh II.

9. Ram Singh was the son of late Maharaja Abhay Singh. Baljit Singh succeeded in 1761 A.D. but could rule only for a year. The succession was disputed by Ram Singh against Bijay Singh.

Ram Singh¹ The Hadas of Kota refused to be a party to the alliance as they suspected that Madho Singh's real intentions were to establish his supremacy over that part of Rajputana. This was corroborated by the hostile attitude that Madho Singh adopted towards his semi-independent nobles and his undue haste in recapturing the fort of Ranthambore. Madho Singh contended that Kota and Bundi should accept his sovereignty by virtue of his being the master of Ranthambore. This claim was unpalatable to Kota. Kota also could not afford to quarrel with the Marathas because of its geographical proximity to the Marathas. Finally, as Malhar Rao Holkar was lying near Kota so the latter refused to join the league². Bundi and Karauli were negligible powers in comparison. So the Rajputs could not form a united front.

The failure did not, however, deter Madho Singh from taking upon himself the responsibility of ejecting the Marathas from Rajputana³. He had also decided to fight the Hadas as early as Chaitra, 1818⁴ V S (March-April 1761). He had a dual purpose at the moment—that of driving out the Marathas and of establishing his hegemony over Kota. He was displeased at the attitude adopted by Maharao Chatrusal in not accepting his invitation to form a united front against the Marathas. Raja Balbhadra Singh informed him that refractory nobles, namely, Soobag Singh Roop Singh of Sagod, Roop Singh of Pabghat and Megh Singh of Rahelwan, were willing to join him against Kota⁵. The sole reason for such an estrangement lay in the fact that

- 1 D O A B Dastar records, Basta No 4, File No 6, letter No 2, dated Posh Sudi 9 1817 V S (15 I 1761) From Madho Rao Sindhia to Maharaja Bijay Singh
- 2 D O A B From Rai Badri Bhan to Maharana Raj Singh II, dated Chaitra Budi 7 1817 V S (27 3 1761) Holkar was lying at Mukandgarh in the Aravali hills after returning from Panipat
- 3 D O A B From Maja Ram to Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh dated Chaitra Budi 2 1818 V S (22 3 1761) Arziat Section, Bundle No 15
- 4 D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh to Ram Singh dated Chaitra Sudi 14 1818 V S (18 4 1761), Draft Kharita, Bundle No 9, Draft No 62
- 5 D O A B From Raja Balbhadra Singh of Raghogarh to Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh Kharita Section. No Date

Madho Singh wanted the Kotries or *fiefs*¹ to pay him 'Peshkush'² These principalities of Hadas were under the protection of the sarkar of Ranthambore, administered by an imperial Faujdar, who used to collect the taxes and pay them to the imperial treasury. Sawai Jai Singh, in course of time, took it on lease from Emperor Mohammad Shah, and collected the revenue. When the fort of Ranthambore was transferred to Madho Singh by Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1753 A.D., the Kotries refused to transfer their allegiance to Jaipur. They, instead, sought protection of the Maharao of Kota because of his sympathetic attitude³. The Maharao took upon himself the responsibility of defending them against Madho Singh⁴.

The Kachwahs could not permit the annexation of territory by the Hadas and Marathas. So Madho Singh with his troops marched towards Ranthambore. He set up his camp at Chatau and called Raja Balbhadra Singh to his help⁵. He led his troops as far as Unnara, a Jagir touching the boundaries of the Kotries, and levied a tribute of thirteen lakhs of rupees⁶. Flushed with this initial success, Madho Singh returned to Ranthambore. His troops marching forward clashed with the Maratha general at Lakhari, and made him leave the fort⁷. Nerve was next besieged. Another force attacked Keshori Paten. Both surrendered to the Kachwahs. Malhar Rao was in the know of the move initiated by Madho Singh for dislodging the Marathas⁸. The attack on his territory made him aware of the impending danger. He sought the permission of the Peshwa to invade Jaipur⁹.

1 They were eight in number. Pipala, Ganta, Karwad, Pusod, Indor, Lakhari, Jhastoli, Balban and Antarda.

2 The tribute.

3 Shyamal Das, *op cit*, pp. 1418-19.

4 A.O.K. Bhambhar No. 3, Baste No. 15.

5 D.O.A.B. From Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh to Raja Balbhadra Singh dated Jyesth Sudi 4, 1818 V.S. (23.5.1761), Draft Kharita, Bundle No. 2, Draft No. 362.

6 S.P.D. : Vol. II letter No. 18 dated October 1761.

7 S.P.D. : Vol. XXIX, letter No. 93, dated December 1, 1761.

8 S.P.D. : Vol. XXIX, letter No. 61.

9 S.P.D. : Vol. XXIII, letter No. 269 dated June 19, 1761. Holkar marched from Indore in early November.

He marched from Indore and entered the Mukandara pass. Here he was detained due to rains. He encamped at Madhkargarh¹

The Maharao of Kota initiated to join hands with him against Madho Singh. He deputed Akhay Ram for this purpose and also sent friendly letters for Holkar². Even before this, Kota had cordial relations with Malhar Rao and made presents to him whenever he passed *en route* to Kota. At the time of his visit in 1817 V S (1760-61) provisions worth one lakh were supplied to his forces³. Again, on his return from Delhi, he was met by Akhay Ram at Namana and was given a 'Nazar' of Rs 51,000⁴. Next, when he came from Ujjain, he was offered Rs 13,672⁵. Malhar could not let slip the opportunity easily when the Maharao was inclined to bear expenses. So he agreed to join Kota forces⁶. The papers of the postwar period show that the least conditions must have been the paying of allowances ranging from the minimum of one anna and a half to a maximum of four annas per day during the actual days of fighting for each soldier⁷ and treatment of the wounded at the cost of Kota⁸.

The strength of the Jaipur army was nearly twenty-five thousand⁹. Hamir Singh of Ramgarh and Ajit Singh of Isarda accompanied Jaipur forces. Roop Singh of Palaittha, Nath Singh of Rajgarh, Chand Singh of Sarthal and Guman Singh of Nagoda¹⁰ assisted Kota. Malhar Rao personally led his own forces. From the eight Kotries Sanman Singh of Pipalda, Amir Singh, Khuman Singh of Karwad and Khusal Singh of Gaunta brought

1 The place to-day is known as Mandargarh

2 A O K Bhandar No 5, Basta No 15, 1761-12

3 A O K Bhandar No 1, Basta No 58 Do Varkhi Parchazat

4 A O K Bhandar No 1, Basta No 58, File No 10 Do Varkhi Parchazat

5 A O K Bhandar No 1, Basta No 59 Nal Ka Bhandar, Bhandar No 1, Bundle No 58, File No 10

6 A O K Bhandar No 5 Basta No 15

7 A O K Bhandar No 1, Basta No 58, Samvat 1818 20 (1762 64) Do Varkhi Parchazat

8 Das, Thakur Lakshman History of Kota (MSS) Kotri Ka Daftar, Kota

9 A O K Bhandar No 5, Basta No 15

10 A O K Bhandar No 1, Basta No 58, Samvat 1818 20 (1762 64) Do Varkhi Parchazat

their own levies. The total strength of their levies was about 500¹.

Jaipur troops crossed the Kota territory at Palighat.² The responsibility for defending this ford was that of the Jagirdar of Sultanpur. He resisted but was killed. The troops reached Bhatwara,³ four miles from the tehsil headquarters of Mangrol. Here they came face to face with the combined forces of Zalim Singh⁴ and Malhar Rao Holkar. The Kota forces numbering 15,000⁵ were commanded by Zalim Singh and assisted by Akhay Ram Pancholi and Dhai Bhai Jaskaran.⁶ In early November, the combined forces had all the advantages of an easy retreat if necessary, but the retreat of the Kachwahas was difficult on account of the two rivers that they had to cross, the *Banganga* and *Kali Sindh*.

The action began on Magasr Sud 3, 1818 V S⁷ (29.11.1761) with the firing of Jaipur artillery. It resulted in the instantaneous death of 700 men of Kota.⁸ At this critical juncture Ballu Hada and Zalim Singh made a devastating assault,⁹ on the Kachwahas. Malhar Rao also attacked, but the battle

1 *Ibid*

2 Six miles north of Dhapari in the territory of Indergarh.

3 A O K Bhandar No 5, Basta No 15 Manuscript History of Kota State

4 Jhalal Zalim Singh was born on the 5th day of the light fortnight of Magasr 1796 V S (24.11.1739). He was a posthumous son of Prithvi Singh Jhalal, son of Gopal Singh Jhalal, who died early after his marriage. The young boy was adopted by his uncle, Jhalal Himmat Singh whose Jagir of Nainla he inherited and also succeeded him to the post of the Faujdar of Kota. When Zalim Singh became the Jagirdar, the Marathas were at the height of their power. Their power extended in the north as far as Peshawar and by the majority of people they were looked upon as the masters of the country.

5 A O K : Bhandar No. 5, Basta No 15 Manuscript History of Kota State

6 A O K Bhandar No 1 Basta No 58, Samvat 1818, (11.3.1762 to 27.2.1763)

7 D O A B Vakya Papers Samvat 1818 20 (1762-64)

8 A O K Bhandar No 5 Basta No 15

9 A O K : Bhandar No 5, Basta No. 15 Manuscript History of Kota State

remained indecisive. On the third day, both sides fought desperately. The battle lasted till the afternoon of Maghar Sudi 5, 1818 V.S.¹ (12 12 1761). Some 3,000 fighters of both sides perished and an equal number lay wounded on the battlefield.² Nine important jagirdars were killed from the Kota contingent.³ The camp and property of Madho Singh were plundered by Malhar Rao Holkar and the Hadas.⁴ Malhar's skin was grazed by a bullet.⁵

The defeat of the Kachwaha forces sent a wave of consternation throughout Jaipur. Madho Singh, who had been watching the battle from Ranthambore, now hastened back to the capital. The garrison at Amber⁶ was strengthened. The Maharaja asked Rawat Prithvi Singh⁷ and Rawat Salim Singh,⁸ the commanders of outlying detachments, to reach Jaipur immediately. Madho Singh himself stayed at Jaipur with light

1 A O K Bhandar No 1, Basta No 58, Samvat 1818 20 (1762 64)
Do Varkhi Parchazat

Sir J. N. Sarkar in "Fall of the Mughal Empire," Vol. II, mentions that the battle started on November 28, 1761 and concluded the next day i.e. on November 29 1761. But the daily accounts of the battle preserved in the Kota Archives clearly reveal that the battle started on Maghar Sudi 3 1818 (29 11 1761) and continued up to Maghar Sudi 5, 1818 (12 12 1761). Even some very minor skirmishes were witnessed on 2 12 1761. In view of these original and authentic evidences the view of Sarkar is hardly acceptable.

2 A O K Bhandar No 5, Basta No 15

3 A O K Bhandar No 1 Basta No 58, Samvat 1818 20 (1762 64)
Do Varkhi Parchazat. The Jagirdars were of Rajgarh, Nanta, Raulawan, Malikhera Gaunta and Pipalda.

4 *Das op cit*

The Kachwahas lost their five-coloured flag, some eighteen guns, seventy three pieces of cannon and 1,800 horses (Kota Archives, Kargat samvat 1818).

5 Sarkar *op cit* p. 373

6 The Old capital of Jaipur

7 D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh to Rawat Prithvi Singh dated Posh Sudi 14 1818 V.S. (9 1 1762), Draft Kharita, Bundle No 9 Draft No 447 (d)

8 D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh to Salim Singh dated Chaitra Sudi 4 1819 V.S. (29 3 1762) Draft Kharita, Bundle No 10, Draft No 9

equipment and sent his family to Amber which was a safe place

Malhar Rao Holkar chased the fugitives up to Khapra¹. He halted at Mansharpur² to enforce his demand of tribute. The Marathas began plundering the territory of Jaipur. Kanu Ram, the Dewan, opened negotiations with the Marathas for a settlement. While the peace negotiations were going on, Providence came to the rescue of Madho Singh. Malhar Rao was compelled to leave Rajputana due to the invasion of Bundelkhand by Shah Alam II and his Wazir, Shuja-ud daulah. His retreat, naturally, disheartened all Maratha officers³ who, on proverbially flimsy pledges of Madho Singh send arrears, retired from Jaipur during February, 1762.

The battle of Bhatwara established the supremacy of the Marathas over Jaipur, which had been temporarily eclipsed due to the disaster of Panipat. The centre of their activities was once again transferred to the sandy desert of Rajputana. They made themselves a formidable force against the Rajputs and were not easily to be appeased. The Rajputs woke up to the folly of their ways but it was too late for them to manage their affairs independently. Every state of Rajputana invited the Marathas by making lucrative promises—never to be fulfilled—to settle their mutual disputes till the British power intervened.

The defeat of Madho Singh made the Rajputs conscious of their weakness. For some time all attempts at uniting the Rajputs against the Marathas were given up⁴. The Rajput Rajas, to avoid spoliation of their land, began to mix up with these marauders. They attempted to adjust the disputes amicably and deputed their Vakils to the court of the Marathas for this. When these representations could not make a headway, the Rajputs once again turned to forge coalitions against the Marathas but their traditional rivalries and the recovery of Mahadji Shinde after the defeat of Panipat came in their way.

1 G.P.D. Vol XXIX letter No 27 dated 30.12.1761

2 Forty miles north of Jaipur

3 G.P.D. Vol XXIX letter No 22

4 G.P.D. : Vol XXIX, letter No 18,

The mutual jealousies of the Rajputs made the Marathas the arbiter of the fate of Rajputana. Mewar, because of her ignoble strife, fell a prey to such acts of the Marathas. She was virtually bereft of everything she possessed till she was rescued temporarily by Zalim Singh who came into prominence by this battle.¹

The victorious forces returned to Kota on the 7th day of the later half of Maghar² (December 1761). Maharao Chatrusal received them at a distance of four miles from the capital. Malhar Rao Holkar and his officers, namely, Bithal Mahadev, Krishnaraj Tantia, Pandit Rao Karkun received gifts and honours.³ Malhar Rao was presented a "Saropao" and Rs. 500/- besides Rs. 101/- for the treatment of his wounded elephant.⁴ The total expenses of the battle of Bhatwara came to Rs. 35,598-7-9,⁵ including 2,561-5⁶ which was spent on garrison of Malhar Rao Holkar before he accompanied the Kota forces to Bhatwara.⁷

Both the Rajput and Maratha sources claim the battle as a victory for their forces. For Kota, it was a trial of strength between the Hadas and Kachwahs, while, for the Marathas, it was a question of their very existence in Rajputana.

Madho Singh, jealous of the dominance of the Marathas,

1. A O K Bhandar No 1, Basta No 58, Samvat 1813 18 (1757 62). Zalim Singh worked under Akhay Ram Pancholi for many years. After his heroic deeds at Bhatwara he acquired prominence and eclipsed his importance. The entire power of administration centred in his hands. He was appointed Musahib-i-Ala on December 28, 1764. Such was his manoeuvring skill that he befriended the Marathas on the one hand and secured the goodwill of the Rajput Rajas on the other.
2. A O K Bhandar No 1, Basta No 58 Samvat 1818 20 (1762 64). Do Varkhi Parchazat.
3. Das *op cit*.
4. A O K Bhandar No 1, Basta No 58, Samvat 1818 20 (1762 64).
5. A O K Phandar No 1 Basta No 58, File No 10, Samvat 1818 20 (1762 64). Do Varkhi Parchazat.
6. *Ibid*.
7. Thakur Laxman Das in his 'History of Kota' (1938) mentions that an amount of Rs. 4 lakhs was offered to Kota as a price of his support but this is nowhere confirmed in the State papers. As such the statement should be taken very cautiously and so long as it is not confirmed by Archival evidences, should be rejected.

wanted to get rid of them. By 1761, the dats amounted to twenty lakhs of rupees. He was unable to pay them. The defeat of the Marathas at Panipat made him attack an already shattered house divided against itself. So he marched against Holkar after the monsoon of 1761. But singleness of purpose had never been his characteristic and, therefore, he thought of claiming the possession of the Kotries also. This led to his ruin at the hands of the combined forces of the Hadas and Marathas.

Holkar started for Jaipur, waiting for a favourable opportunity to attack. He was invited by the Maharao to make a combined cause against the Kachwahas as the Maratha sources claim. The Rajput historians depict that Malhar Rao, who was encamping nearby, was hired by the Hadas to plunder the retreating Jaipur army.

Both the sources suffer from exaggeration so common in their annals. According to the Rajput sources, the Kota forces present at the battle-field numbered 15,000 only.¹ Chatrusal knew the preparations of the Kachwahas long before. With his meagre forces he could not have dared oppose a 25,000 strong force equipped with artillery.² He was also not confident regarding the Bundi contingent which actually came to Kota but did not participate in the battle. Therefore, he won over Malhar Rao by sharing the responsibility of financing the project and furnishing forces that Kota could afford. This was why Kota paid the troops of Malhar Rao and got the wounded treated at her expense. Malhar Rao stood in sore need of money. This was fulfilled by Kota and he prepared himself to avenge the wrongs done by the Kachwahas. Had Malhar Rao Holkar been hired for the plunder alone, Kota would not have undergone such heavy expenses. Had it been an action between the Hadas and Kachwahas, the latter would not have sued for peace with Malhar Rao Holkar. But the opening of the negotiations between Malhar Rao and Madho Singh prove that Malhar was the dominant and not a secondary party. It appears that Malhar

1 A.O.K. : Bhandar No 5, Basta No 15.

2 A.O.K. : Bhandar No 1, Basta No 53, Samvat 1818 20 (1762-64)
Do Yarkhi Parchayat.

Rao had reached some understanding on the Kotruas as after this battle the cause of the Kotruas was never espoused by any Kachwaha King

The Rajput sources claim that Madho Singh was at the time too weak to face Malhar Rao Holkar whose contingent had returned intact¹ from the battle-field of Panipat. But, on the other hand, Madho Singh tried to exploit the so-called predicament of Malhar Rao Holkar—his exhausted treasury, rivalry with Sindhia and the disillusionment of his forces. Malhar's aggressive movements indicated an invasion on his dominions and so Madho Singh prepared to meet him before he entered his state. The only misfortune for him was that he had a duality of purpose, which prompted the Hadas and Marathas to pool their resources. Thus it is clear that the action was a joint venture of the Marathas and Hadas against Madho Singh.²

1 Sidney, J. Owen, *The fall of the Mogul Empire* (London John Murray, Albemarle Street, W 1912), p. 277

2 Sarkar in his "*Fall of the Mughal Empire*", Vol II, takes this battle as a contest between Madho Singh and Malhar Rao Holkar. His contention rests on three letters written by Maratha officers, which appear in S P D Vol XXI at numbers 22, 93 and 94. The last two letters written by Kanhoji Jadhav specifically mention that the Jaipur ruler Madho Singh, had become formidable by this time and defied the payment of the Maratha tribute which had accumulated to a staggering sum of Rs twenty lakhs. So Madho Singh was not reluctant for a contest with the Marathas and even actually prepared for it instead of paying it. Sarkar could not consult the Rajasthan sources and hence such an erroneous view was the natural corollary.

The above description rests on the boastful claims of the Marathas who wanted to wash out the haunting memory of the disastrous defeat which they met at the hands of Ahmad Shah Abdali in the third battle of Panipat. If Madho Singh had been strong enough to fight the Marathas single-handed he would not have negotiated for help with the emperor, the Rohila leader and the Rajput Rajas. This clearly shows that he was weak and fragile at the moment and could not have even thought of defying the authority of Holkar whose forces had returned intact from Panipat. At the same time his treasury had become, almost depleted by the huge and unfailing demands of the Marathas, who resorted to plunder and exactions whenever their demands were not met with. To this long chain of difficulties was also to be added the hostile attitude of the Jagirdars who were to be reduced to sub-

(Contd on next page)

Between 1762 and 1764, the Marathas could not pay any attention to Jaipur on account of internal dissensions at Poona. During this time the Marathas reminded Madho Singh for payment. Kedarni Sindhia asked for the arrears of tribute amounting to twelve lakhs of rupees¹. Madho Singh, it appears, paid half of it as the subsequent demand amounted to 6 lakhs only². Again at the persuasion of the Peshwa, Madho Singh agreed to pay³ four and a half lakhs of rupees. Out of this Rs 2,50,000 were to be paid immediately in banker's bills and 2 lakhs later on by instalments. But Madho Singh could not fulfil his promise and so constant reminders poured in throughout the year 1820 V S⁴ (1762-63). The Rajputs evaded payment so long as it was not backed up by force of arms. This was the only course left open to the Rajputs, for between their rapidly falling revenues and constantly increasing demands of the Marathas, they could not effect a way out.

The immediate reason for the renewal of the action was that Madho Singh first delayed⁵ and then denied to despatch

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mission before an encounter with the Marathas could be thought of. As such it is inconceivable that Madho Singh could have taken an initiative to march against Malhar Rao.

- 1 D O A B : From Kedarni Sindhia to Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh, dated Jyesth Sudi 14, 1819 V S (22.5.1762), Kharita Section, G B.
- 2 D O A B : From Peshwa Madhav Rao to Mutsadis of Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh, dated Kartik Sudi 13, 1819, V S (15.10.1762), Kharita Section.
- 3 *Ibid*.
- 4, (a) D O A B : From Kedarni Sindhia to Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh, dated Jyesth Sudi 1, 1820 V S (28.4.1763) Kharita Section, G B.
(b) D O A B : From Peshwa Madhav Rao to Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh, dated Sargol Asadh Sudi 10, 1819 V S (1.7.1762) Kharita Section.
(c) D O A B : From Peshwa Madhav Rao to Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh dated Bhadra Sudi 9 1819 V S (14.8.1762) Kharita Section.
(d) S P D : Vol XXIX, letter No. 99 dated 11.11.1762.
- 5 D O A B : From Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh to Peshwa Madhav Rao, dated Shrawan Sudi 11, 1820 V S (19.8.1763), Kharita Section.

two thousand of his forces for the help of the Peshwa to settle the Deccan affairs. When peace was restored at Poona, Malhar Rao proceeded towards Rajputana to put pressure on Madho Singh for payment. He encamped at Chatsoo¹ and demanded the tribute. Madho Singh summoned his nobles for giving battle to Malhar Rao Holkar. They advised him to save the country from devastation by agreeing to pay the Maratha chief². Bijay Singh did not favour the cause of Madho Singh against Holkar³.

When the payment was not forth-coming Malhar Rao proceeded to Jobner⁴ and began to plunder⁵. Madho Singh then deputed Vidya Guru Bhatt, Raja Sada Shiv, Raj Singh and Shiam Singh to settle the dues⁶.

The meeting of rival representatives was fruitful. Malhar Rao made the Kachwahs acquiesce in his demand for Rs. 35,00,001 in stipulation of the clearance of all his arrears⁷. Out of this Rs. 10,00,001 were to be paid in four instalments—the first of Rs. 4,00,001 to be paid immediately and the rest each of Rs. 2,00,000 to be paid on Magh Sudi 1, 1821 V.S. (22.1.1765), Phalgun Sudi 15, 1821 V.S. (7.3.1765) and Asadh Budi 1, 1822 V.S. (4.6.1765) respectively. The rest of the amount of Rs. 25,00,000 was to be paid during the next 6 years in annual instalments.

1 D.O.A.B. From Shah Mool Chand to Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh, dated Ashoj Sudi 3, 1821 V.S. (28.9.1764), Arziat Section, Bundle No. 15, Arzi No. 196.

2 D.O.A.B. From Dhas Bhat Roopji to Raj Ganpatji, dated Shrawan Sudi 13, 1821 V.S. (9.8.1764). Draft Kharita, Bundle No. 11, Draft No. 87.

3 D.O.A.B. Arzi Bahu No. 4, p. 244 dated 4th day of dark half of Shrawan 1821 V.S. (17.7.1764). A letter from Dewan Surat Ram to Daul Singh of Jaipur.

4 Thirty miles east of Sambhar.

5 D.O.A.B. From Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh to Subedar Malhar Rao Holkar dated Shrawan Budi 9, 1821 V.S. (22.7.1764). Draft Kharita, Bundle No. 11, Draft No. 86.

6 D.O.A.B. Dastoor Komwar, Vol. 9 Samvat 1821 V.S. (1764-65), p. 613.

7 D.O.A.B. Yad Dast between Subedar Malhar Rao Holkar and Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh, dated Magh Sudi 9, 1821 V.S. (30.1.1765), Kapot Dwara No. 754.

of which Rs 4,25,000 each in the year 1822 to 1825 V S and Rs 4,00,000 each in 1826 to 1827 V S. In addition to this the Parganas of Tonk and Rampura were ceded to the Marathas. A jagir worth Rs 1 lakh was bestowed upon Mala Rao, son of Malhar Rao Holkar, of Maharaja's own accord. Having reached the agreement Malhar Rao left Jaipur.

The understanding was no more than a mere scrap of paper. It was dire necessity for Madho Singh to reach an understanding to save his kingdom from being ravaged. Sawai Madho Singh gained his objective by paying Rs 4,00,000 immediately and making vague promises for the rest. But the severance of Tonk and Rampura from the Kachwaha state was a permanent loss to him not only in terms of money alone, but it gave the Marathas a stronghold in the heart of Rajputana whence they could carry on their operations conveniently. The Maharaja paid the instalments punctually during 1822 V S (1765-66), after which he again stopped payment.¹

For Malhar Rao Holkar the treaty not only riveted the chains of his supremacy on Jaipur but also provided an immediate payment of a handsome sum by which he could set his affairs in order. It also served to mark his superiority on the Peshwa against his rival Mahadji Sindhia as he had subdued the powerful Kachwaha Raja all alone for the time being.

The battle of Bhatwara brought to the fore-front another chain of events which deserve our consideration. Maharao Chatrusal was pained at the attitude which Rao Raja Ummed Singh had adopted at the battle of Bhatwara.² The feeling of revenge was desperate and soon he got an opportunity. Budh Singh helped Maharaja Abhay Singh of Jodhpur when Mahadji Sindhia and Kedarni Sindhia invaded Marwar to punish the ruler for the untoward behaviour meted out to Jayaji Rao Sindhia. Mahadji Sindhia himself was pressing Bundi for payment of the tribute three years in arrears. Maharao Chatrusal deputed Akhay Ram Kayastha and his son Keshav Ram to meet Mahadji

1 D O A B : From Santaji Bable to Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh, dated Shravan Badi 13, 1822 V S (15.7.1765), Arzast section. Bundle No. 11.

2 Sharma op cit p. 448

Sindhia,¹ at Majok Akhay Ram promised that the Kota forces would help him in his venture against Bundi.² Bundi foresaw such a move and so sounded Madho Singh for help.³ Soon a treaty was concluded by which they promised mutual help to each other.⁴

On the other hand, Mahadji Sindhia, for playing off one Rajput against the other, accepted it and the combined forces of Kota and Mahadji encamped at Nanwak near Bundi. They ravaged the country.⁵ Abhay Singh Rathor⁶ and Dewan Kam Ram⁷ were deputed to appeal to the Marathas to restore peace, but the outbreak of hostilities seemed inevitable.⁸ The Marathas through Pancholi Hira Nand and Purohit Jai Krishna demanded 7 lakhs of rupees as "Fauj Kharch". They also claimed the tribute for the last 3 years.⁹ When the peace nego-

1 A.O.K. Bhandar No 1 Basta No 58, File No 10, dated 1818 20 (1762 64) Do Varkhu Parchazat.

2 *Mushra op cit*, IV, p 3706

3 D.O.A.B. From Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh to Rao Raja Ummed Singh dated Posh Budi 5, 1818 V.S. (16 12 1761), Draft Kharita, Bundle No 9 Draft No 446

4 D.O.A.B. Yed Dast between Jaipur and Bundi dated Phalgun Sudi 7 1818 V.S. (3 3 1762), Bundle No 9, Draft No 434

5 D.O.A.B. From Bhagat Ram Hada of Indergarh to Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh dated Posh Sudi 13 1818 V.S. (8 1 1762), Arziat Section, Bundle No 15, Arzi No 138

6 D.O.A.B. From Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh to Rao Raja Ummed Singh dated Bhadra Sudi 10 1819 V.S. (29 8 1762), Draft Kharita Bundle No 9 Draft No 321

7 D.O.A.B. From Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh to Rao Raja Ummed Singh dated Ashoj Sudi 8 1819 V.S. (25 9 1762), Draft Kharita, Bundle No 9 Draft No 329

8 (a) D.O.A.B. From Rao Raja Ummed Singh to Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh dated Maghar Sudi 3, 1819 V.S. (18 11 1762) Kharita Section Bundle No 10

(b) D.O.A.B. From Rao Raja Ummed Singh to Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh dated Maghar Budi 8, 1819 V.S. (9 11 1762), Kharita Section Bundle No 10

9 (a) D.O.A.B. From Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh to Indor Singh, dated Maghar Sudi 8 1819 V.S. (24 11 1762) Draft Kharita, Bundle No 9

tations failed, Umed Singh got ready for the battle. He asked Madho Singh to send his contingent¹ under Raj Singh Harshav². Shahpura contingent under Mahim Singh also joined him³. A small skirmish took place between the rival forces but Umed Singh, feeling himself weak, sued for peace⁴. Neither the Kota records nor Marathi sources throw any light on the terms of the treaty, but Kaviraj Devī Dan mentions that Mahadji Sindhia was sent off by paying his dues⁵. Kota incurred an expenditure of Rs 1,84,000 on the expedition⁶. Mahadji got a foothold in this part of Rajputana.

When the Marathas were busy with these affairs, Jawahar Singh, the Jat Raja of Bharatpur, took advantage of this opportunity. The Jaipur Raja had, of late, espoused the cause of Najib ud Dallah, the sworn enemy of Jawahar Singh. Therefore, he hired an army 25,000 strong of Sikh mercenaries under Jassa Singh and Tara Singh⁷ and entered Jaipur. He began plundering it.

Madho Singh realising that he alone could not face the danger, sought the help of the Marathas. He requested Malhar Rao Holkar and Mahadji Sindhia to help him⁸. Malhar Rao

(*Contd. from previous page*)

(b) D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh to Inder Singh, dated Posh Budi 3, 1819 V S (21 1763), Draft Kharita, Bundle No. 9

1 D O A B From Rao Raja Umed Singh to Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh dated Maghar Budi 9 1819 V S (23 11 1763), Kharita Section, Bundle No. 10

2 D O A B From Rao Raja Umed Singh to Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh dated Magh Budi 5 1819 V S (4 2 1763), Kharita Section, Bundle No. 10

3 Devī Dan Varsh Prakash, Vol II p. 187

4 Mishra *op cit.* IV, p. 3710

5 Devī Dan *op cit.* p. 187

6 A O K Bhandar No. 1 Busta No. 58 Samvat 1816 20 (1762-64) Do Varsha Patraharat

7 D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh to Malhar Rao Holkar, dated Vady Budi 11, 1822 V S (11 9 1765), Draft Kharita, Bundle No. 11, Draft No. 53

8 *Ibid*

sent his forces under Santaji Bable and Govind Rao, promising to come later in person.¹ Sindhua ordered Achyut Rao Ganesh, who was plundering near Kishangarh, to hasten to Jaipur.² He was promised a subsidy of Rs 5,000/- daily. This intervention of the Marathas on behalf of Jaipur made Jawahar Singh nervous, for he could not fight single-handed with them. He patched up a truce with Madho Singh through Nawal Singh. Jaipur was saved from the atrocities of the Jats due to the timely help of the Marathas. The Jat menace compelled Jaipur to adopt a pro-Maratha policy.

Jawahar Singh's plans were frustrated due to the undue interference of the Marathas and so he was jealous of the power which the Marathas wielded over Rajputana. He, therefore, decided to expel them. He marched to Pushkar, near Ajmer, where Bijay Singh met him by invitation on Kartik Sudi 15, 1824 V S³ (6.11.1767), and exchanged turban as a token of brotherhood.⁴ They vowed to wage a war jointly against the Marathas and drive them across the Narbada. Bijay Singh invited Madho Singh to join the league but the latter spurned the offer in abusive terms.⁵ It offended Jawahar Singh. Madho Singh wisely plotted to attack Jawahar Singh's kingdom in his absence with the help of the Marathas. He got the help of Bikaner⁶ through Krishna Kant and Vyas Bhawan.

1 D O A B From Malhar Rao Holkar to Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh dated Kartik Sudi 8, 1822 V S (21.10.1763), Kharita Section, Indore Bundle.

2 S P D Vol XXIX December 1765.

3 D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh to Maharaja Hindu Pati dated Maghar Budi 5, 1824 V S (25.11.1767), Draft Kharita, Bundle No 11 Draft No 344, Shahpura Khayat I, f 149A, Ojha, Jodhpur 2 p 718.

4 D O A B From Dharam Rao Pandit to Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh dated Posh Sudi Purnima 1824 V S (4.1.1768), Arziat Section, Bundle No 15 Asopa, p 248.

5 Girdas Surat Singhot was sent to Jaipur Jodhpur Raja Ki Khayat, V 3 p 399.

6 (a) D O A B From Maharaja Gaj Singh to Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh dated Posh Sudi 12 1824 V S (2.1.1768) Kharita Section, Bundle No 9 Kharita No 342.

(b) Powlett Col P W Gazetteer of the Bikaner State, p 68.

(c) *Dajaldas Ki Khayat Part II*, p 90.

Das¹ Bikaner provided some troops for his help. Raja Ragho Dev Rawat Singh and Arjun Singh brought some forces from Udaipur.² Raja Ragho Dev was also sent to Kota and secured a force 3,000 strong.³ Friendly letters were also addressed to Tukoji Holkar⁴ who acceded to his request.⁵ A respectable number under Shiv Gangadhar joined Madho Singh.⁶

Madho Singh's preparations were not a secret. At his instance, Yashwant Rao Bable and Raj Singh attacked Deeg and Kumbher.⁷ Bijay Singh, hearing of such developments, requested Madho Singh not to harass the Jat Raja on his return journey and he promised it. Bijay Singh then returned to Maroth.⁸ Contrary to the promise, the Kachwahs and the Marathas attacked the Jat army on Posh Budi 9, 1824 V S.⁹

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- 1 D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh to Maharaja Gaj Singh dated Magar Budi 11 1824 V S (17 11 1767), Kharita Section, Bundle No 9, Kharita No 335
 - 2 D O A B From Dhai Bhai Roopa to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Posh Budi 3 1824 V S (8 12 1767), Kharita Section, Bundle No 12, Kharita No 342, Jodhpur Khayat 3, p 399
 - 3 D O A B From Vyas Gopal Rao to Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh, dated Phalgun Sudi 7 1824 V S (24 2 1768), Arziat Section Bundle No 15 Arzi No 115 Ojha Jodhpur 2 p 719
 - 4 Tukoji Holkar was a eunuch during Ahalya Bai's time. During that period he was engaged in 1760 in Gujrat with Mahadji Sindhia against the English. He died in 1797 leaving four sons.
 - 5 D O A B From Tukoji Holkar to Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh dated Magar Sudi 9 1824 V S (3 11 1767) Kharita Section, Indore Bundle
 - 6 D O A B From Tukoji Holkar to Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh, dated Magh Sudi 1, 1824 V S (20 1 1768), Kharita Section, Indore Bundle
 - 7 Ibid
 - 8 D O A B From Santaji Bhonsale to Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh dated Magh Sudi 1, 1824 V S (20 1 1768) Arziat Section Bundle No 15 Arzi No 118. Bijay Singh accompanied Jawahar Singh up to Daula and then via Sambhar returned to Maroth. He left Mahota Manarath Singhvi Shiv Chand along with some forces, Jodhpur Khayat 3 pp 400-401
 - 9 D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh to Tukoji Holkar dated Magh Budi 12 1824 V S (16 1 1768) Kharita Section Indore Bundle.

(14-12 1767) The Jats and Rathors were completely routed¹ The Jaipur forces lost a number of their heroic Sardars² When Bijay Singh came to know of this, he reprimanded Madho Singh for such a treacherous act³

The emergence of the Jat power under Jawahar Singh complicated the political atmosphere of Rajputana His rivalry with Madho Singh and the Marathas further confused the situation To this time the rivalry was restricted to the Rajputs alone but now the Jats became the sworn enemy of both the Rajputs and Marathas alike Had this state of affairs continued, it would have proved ruinous to Rajputana, but the death of Jawahar Singh and Madho Singh⁴ lessened the tension By Jawahar Singh's death, the Marathas were relieved of a perpetual enemy who was opposed to their penetration into Rajputana

This conflict with the Jats proved costly to Jaipur as it encouraged the chief of Macheri to make a bid for his independence from Jaipur He took refuge with the Jat Raja and ultimately succeeded in it

The same feeling of vengeance was felt by the other Rajput

- 1 (a) D O A B From Subedar Tukoji Holkar to Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh, dated Magh Sudi 1, 1824 V S (20 1 1766), Kharita Section, Indore Bundle
- (b) D O A B From Santosh Singh to Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh, dated Chaitra Sudi 5, 1825 V S (23 3 1768) Arziat Section, Bundle No 15, Arzi No 178
- (c) Dewan Surat Ram purchased their retreat S P D XXIX, 164
- 2 (a) Shyamal Das, *op cit*, pp 1304-05
- (b) The notable among the dead were Dewan Harshav, Bakshi Gur Sahai Sanwal Das Shekhawat Gurnan Singh Shiv Das Shekhawat Nahar Singh of Itawa and Dabel Singh The Jats lost Rathor Surat Singh Madho Das Mertia and a host of other Sardars. Jodhpur Khayat 3, p 403
- (c) D O A B Letter dated Shrawan Budi 1823 V S (July August 1768) No 131 The four villages Katrathal, Doulatpura Raadpura and Gangvaar, were granted to Budh Singh Shekhawat's wife to maintain herself
- 3 Mishra, *op cit*, pp 3721-27 Jodhpur Raja Ki Khayat 3 p 404
- 4 Madho Singh died in March 1768 and Jawahar Singh was assassinated the same year in July

chiefs. At heart they disliked the predatory habits of the Marathas and were always on the look out for an opportunity to expel them. Though the Hadas were traditional friends of Holkar, yet they initiated a move to forge a united front of Jaipur, Jodhpur and Mewar against the Marathas¹. Bijay Singh sent Padam Singh to the Maharana of Udaipur². Vyas Raghu Nath and Purohit Hathi Ram were sent to Jaipur and Jodhpur respectively³. Kota contemplated an early action and asked Pancholi Ram Krishna to bring with him a respectable army⁴. They decided to assemble at Nathdwara⁵ under the guise of making a pilgrimage. Guman Singh, the new ruler of Kota, asked Sowan Singh Sisodia to come fully prepared as a meeting of Rana Ari Singh, Bijay Singh had been fixed up with him at Nathdwara⁶. Maharao Guman Singh reached Nathdwara. He was followed by Maharaja Bijay Singh. Maharana Ari Singh was the last to arrive and was received at a distance of three miles⁷. The meeting took place as scheduled on Kartik Sudi 10, 1823⁸ V S (11-11-1766), but as the Kachwahas did not participate and Mewar showed disinterestedness, nothing could be achieved. All the participants started on their journey back home. Guman Singh reached Kota on Magar Sudi 4, 1823

1 A O K. Bhandar No 3, Basta No 1, dated Ashoj Budi 2, 1823 V S (20 9 1766)

2 Ibid. Letter from Nand Gaon to Bhambhi Kachwahays

3 A O K. Bhandar No 3, Basta No 1, dated Ashoj Budi Amavash 1823 V S (3 10 1766). From Nand Gaon to Pancholi Ram Krishna.

4 (a) A O K. Bhandar No 3 Basta No 1, dated Kartik Budi 5, 1823 V S (23 10 1766). Letter from Nand Gaon to Pancholi Ram Krishna

(b) A O K. Bhandar No 3, Basta No 1, dated Kartik Sudi 2, 1823 V S (4 11 1766). Letter from Nand Gaon to Dhat Bhai Roop Chaud

5 On the right bank of the Banas river about 30 miles north by north east of Udaipur city

6 A O K. Bhandar No 3 Basta No 1 dated Kartik Sudi 8 1823 V S (10 11 1766). Letter from Nand Gaon to Vyas Raghu Nathji

7 A O K. Bhandar No 3 Basta No 1, dated Magar Budi 11 1823 V S (26 11 1766). Letter from Maji Ranavati

8 Ibid.

V.S¹ (5 12 1766) Realising the consequences of the failure of his move, Maharao Guman Singh asked Pandit Abhaji to impress upon Malhar Rao Holkar his fidelity to the Marathas²

Though this move failed to achieve any tangible results, yet it signified resentment against the destructive character of Maratha influence in Rajputana. It clearly demonstrated that it was the weakness and disunity among Rajput states which strengthened the Marathas. The attitude of the Rajputs towards the Marathas was ambivalent. On the one hand, they sought the help of the Marathas to settle their scores with their Rajput rivals, while, on the other hand, they were tired of their demands. These divergencies came in their way of a united front against the Marathas. Thus a period of active conspiring against the Marathas came to an end.

After the death of Sawai Madho Singh in March 1768, his son, Prithvi Singh, ascended the throne. The Peshwa, Madhav Rao, sent a 'Pagri' recognising him as the lawful heir. He desired to maintain good relations between the two 'durbars'.³ Sawai Prithvi Singh also reciprocated the friendly sentiments of Madhav Rao.⁴ But these profuse professions could only be maintained as long as Maratha interests were intact.

By the end of March 1769, the Peshwa had subdued his enemies in the south. He ordered Ramchandra Ganesh and Visaji Krishna to proceed towards the North with 15,000

1 A.O.K. : Bhandar No 3, Baste No 1 dated Maghar Sudi 6, 1823 V.S (7 12 1766) Letter from Nand Gaon to Pancholi Somnath

2 A.O.K. Bhandar No 3 Baste No 1, dated Maghar Budi 11, 1823 V.S (28 11 1766) Letter from Nand Gaon to Pandit Abhaji

3 (a) D.O.A.B From Peshwa Madhav Rao to Bhatt Sada Shaji, dated Posh Sudi 2, 1825 V.S (10 1 1769)

(b) D.O.A.B From Peshwa Madhav Rao to Maharaja Sawai Prithvi Singh dated Ashoj Budi 8, 1826 V.S (23 9 1769), Kharita Section

4 (a) D.O.A.B From Maharaja Sawai Prithvi Singh to Peshwa Madhav Rao, dated Chaitra Sudi 2 1827 V.S (29 3 1770), Kharita Section.

(b) D.O.A.B From Maharaja Sawai Prithvi Singh to Peshwa Madhav Rao, dated Chaitra Sudi 4, 1827, V.S (30 3 1770), Kharita Section

state cavalry¹ The object was to re-establish the hold of the Marathas in the North It implied the realisation of a war indemnity from the Jat Raja according to the treaty of May 26, 1754, and to possess the lands granted by the Delhi Government to the Marathas for the help up to 1754² They marched towards the Khechi country of Raghogarh and encamped at Aroni³ While proceeding towards Narsingarh,⁴ Tukoji⁵ and Ramchandra Ganesh⁶ caused a huge devastation These depredations made Raja Balbhadra Singh appeal for help to Sawai Prithvi Singh⁷ He also requested him to instruct his Vakils with Tukoji for prevailing upon him to stop this devastation⁸

Sawai Prithvi Singh's letter to the Maratha chiefs had no

1 (a) D O A B From Peshwa Madhav Rao to Maharaja Sawai Prithvi Singh dated Ashoj Budi 8, 1826 V S (23 9 1769), Kharita Section.

(b) S P D Vol XXXIX, No 169, dated March 18, 1769

2 Sarkar *op cit*, III 5

3 (a) A O K Bhandar No 3, Basta No 1, Talik Bahi, dated Shrawan Sudi 6 1826 V S (7 8 1769) From Maharao Guman Singh to Sardar Singh and Pancholi Sitaram

(b) A O K Bhandar No 3 Basta No 1, dated Bhadra Sudi 9, 1826 V S (9 9 1769) From Kota to Pancholi Shoo Nath.

4 A O K Bhandar No 3, Basta No 1 dated Ashoj Budi 2, 1826 V S (17 9 1769) From Kota to Pancholi Udas Ram and Bhopat Ram.

5 (a) D O A B From subedar Tukoji Holkar to Maharaja Sawai Prithvi Singh, dated Ashoj budi 10, 1826 V S (10 10 1769), Kharita Section

(b) A O K : Bhandar No 3 Basta No 1 dated Shrawan Sudi 12 1826 V S (14 8 1769) From Kota to Pancholi Shuv Nath

6 A O K Bhandar No 3 Basta No 1, dated Ashoj Budi 14 1826 V S (28 9 1769) From Kota to Pancholi Shuv Nath.

7 D O A B : From Raja Balbhadra Singh to Sawai Prithvi Singh, dated Bhadra Budi 2, 1826 V S (19 8 1769) Draft Kharita Bundle No 13 No 234

8 D O A B : From Raja Balbhadra Singh to Sawai Prithvi Singh, dated Ashoj Budi 2 1826, V S (17 9 1769) Draft Kharita Bundle No 13, No. 261

effect¹ Tukoji also did not care for the offer of mediation² The Raja at last offered Rs 4,65,000 as the Maratha dues³ Out of this two lakhs were immediately paid, the parganas of Arom and Madusudangarh were handed over to the Marathas⁴ for Rs 1,65,000 and for the balance the Raja himself accompanied the Maratha forces⁵ Once again in the year 1830 V.S. (1773-74), Sawai Prithvi Singh addressed a letter to Tukoji Holkar and Nanaji Pandit reminding them of the happy relations between the two darbars and requested them to be lenient towards Raja Balbhadra Singh in realising the dues⁶

While in Khuchiwara, the Marathas demanded Rs two lakhs and seventy thousand as the dues from Kota⁷ The Maharao was uncertain as to the policy to be followed towards them He instructed Pancholi Shiv Nath to handle the problem tactfully so that neither side might feel offended⁸ The Maharao's inability to meet the demand brought the Marathas into Kota territory⁹

1 D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Prithvi Singh, Ramchandra Ganesh and Visaji, dated Bhadra Budi 9, 1826 V S (25 8 1769), Draft Kharita, Bundle No 15, No 26

2 D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Prithvi Singh to Tukoji Holkar dated Bhadra Budi 9, 1826 V S (25 8 1769), Kharita Section, Indore Bundle

(b) D O A B From Raja Balbhadra Singh to Maharaja Sawai Prithvi Singh, dated Bhadra Sudi 6, 1826 V S (6 9 1769), Draft Kharita, Bundle No 13

3 D O A B From Balwant Singh to Maharaja Sawai Prithvi Singh, dated Magh Budi 7, 1826 V S (18 1 1770), Draft Kharita, Bundle No 13 No 265

4 Ibid

5 D O A B From Raja Balbhadra Singh to Maji Sahib of Jaipur, dated Magh Budi 7, 1826 V S (18 1 1770) Draft Kharita Bundle No 13 No 266

6 D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Prithvi Singh to Subedar Tukoji Holkar and Nanaji Pandit dated Aashad Budi 12, 1830 V S (16 6 1773), Draft Kharita, Bundle No 13

7 A O K Bhandar No 3, Basta No 1, Samvat 1823 26 (1769-70)

8 A O K Bhandar No 3 Basta No 1, Taluk Bahu From Kota to Pancholi Shiv Nath dated Shrawan Sudi 9 1826 V S (11 8 1769)

9 A O K Bhandar No 3 Basta No 1, Taluk Bahu From Kota to Thakur Keshan Singh Rawat, dated Shrawan Sudi 10, 1826 V S (12 8 1769)

Tukoji Holkar entered the southern part of Kota territory and looted the villages of Bharant, Ganeshpura, Nimana Borkheri and Alpo¹ Ramchandra Gancsh also came to help him² They plundered Mangrol, Itawa, Barod and Kushan ganj³ The raids continued throughout October-November 1769 As the Kota forces were no match for the Maratha sardar the Maharao deputed Naroji, a Deccani Pandit, to placate the invaders by offering costly presents Ramchandra was urgently required in the North, and, therefore, he accepted them and retired Tukoji was left in charge of the operations

He attacked Bakani, a small fort in the south of Kota He besieged the four hundred Hadas in it and demanded their surrender The siege continued for two weeks and, at last, the fort was handed over to him Then he directed his energies towards Suket, again a small fort near Bakani The Hadas left the fort under cover of darkness The fort fell into the hands of Tukoji

In Magsar, 1826 V S (December, 1769) Holkar again entered Kota territory from the south and ravaged the parganas of Atru, Atoni, Kundli, Modpur, Baran, Mangrol, Basthuni and Barod⁴ He demanded a huge sum for his withdrawal He even prepared himself to raid Kota and crossed the river Chambal at Jhampayat, a few miles north of Kota city The Maharao, apprehending danger, appeased him by making a substantial payment and made him leave Kota⁵

Zalim Singh had, by this time, returned to Kota from Mewar He met Holkar at Suket⁶ and complained to him against his raids on Kota, as Kota had been a tributary Zalim Singh made Holkar agree to deduct Rs. 2,50,000 as compensation from the amount payable in 1827 V S (1770-71)

Kota enjoyed a respite from the invasions of the Marathas till 1833 V S (1776) when Mahadji Sindhia's generals Ambaji,

1 A O K Blazeler No 1 Basta No 3 Samvat 1826 32 (1770-76)

2 A O K Blazeler No 3, Basta No 1 Samvat 1826 26 (1769-70)

3 Ibid

4 Ibid

5 A O K : Blazeler No. 3 Basta No 1 Samvat 1826 26 (1769-70)

6 Ibid

Manuji, Mahipat Rao and Ikhuji raided the Parganas of Kota¹ They crossed the river Parvati near Atru. Zalim Singh was much offended at this move of Sindhia. He despatched his troops under Pandit Tantiya and Bakshi Akhay Ram. The rival forces faced each other from January to April 1776². Sindhia was alarmed at the preparations of Zalim Singh and so withdrew his forces on Jaisath Sudi 9, 1833 V S (26.5.1776).

Even though the Marathas were busy at Kota, yet they did not spare Jaipur whenever there was an opportunity for it. At Raghoghar the Vakils of Jaipur met Ramchandra and Visaji. They promised to send the dues regularly. As they failed in it³ so the Marathas entered Jaipur territory⁴. The Maharaja satisfied them by paying the dues. He utilised the opportunity in provoking them against the Jats for their invasion of his territory during the time of Jawahar Singh⁵. The Maharaja even promised to assist the Maratha generals with a contingent⁶. But it appears that the Kachwahs were playing a double game as Ramchandra Ganesh and Visaji reminded Prithvi Singh, 'We waited for your forces yet they have not joined us till now. Raja Sahaj Singh was always assuring us that the forces will arrive soon but this did not materialise. You have deputed Har Lal to the court of Jat Raja Nawal Singh with a view to effecting a compromise'⁷. At last, a Kachwaha force 7,000 strong joined the Marathas.

A battle ensued between the forces of Nawal Singh and the Marathas on Chaitra Sudi 11, 1827 V S⁸ (6.4.1770). Nawal

1 A O K Bhandar No 1, Basta No 61, Samvat 1833.35 (1777-79)

2 Ibid

3 A O K Bhandar No 3 Basta No 1, From Kota to Majlis Rai, dated Ashoj Budi Amavas 1826 V S (29.9.1769)

4 D O A B From Mehta Bala Nand to Maji Sahib, dated Phalgun Sudi 9 1826 V S (6.3.1770), Draft Kharita, Bundle No 13, Draft No 276

5 Sarkar *op cit* III 6

6 D O A B From Ram Chandra Ganesh and Visaji Krishna to Maharaja Sawai Prithvi Singh, dated Chaitra Budi 8, 1827 V S (19.3.1770), Draft Kharita Bundle No 13

7 Ibid

8 D O A B From Ramchandra Ganesh and Visaji to Maharaja Sawai Prithvi Singh dated Basakh Sudi 14, 1827 V S (8.5.1770), Draft Kharita, Bundle No 13 Draft No 249

Singh was defeated. He took shelter in Deeg. The Jats suffered heavily. The suppression of the Jat Raja with the help of the Kachwaha forces facilitated the northern enterprise of the Marathas.

But the victory over the Jats brought about an open rupture between Sindhia and Holkar. While Sindhia sensing the hostile designs of the Rohilas advocated a mild policy towards the Jat Raja, Holkar opposed it vehemently¹. This open conflict between the Maratha chiefs stultified the activities of the Marathas. After overcoming the Rohila menace, Sindhia took to escorting Shah Alam II to Delhi in 1772. He requested Sawai Prithvi Singh to send a contingent to be in attendance to the Emperor². It was complied with³. The temporary reconciliation between the two established the hold of Mahadji on the Mughal Emperor.

The timely help of Prithvi Singh could not appease the Marathas with regard to their 'mamlat' dues. Jaipur had settled rupees one lakh and nine thousand in quarterly instalments, through Sahej Singh⁴. The Peshwa, Madho Rao Ballal, reminded Prithvi Singh that the instalment has fallen in arrears and that it should be paid forthwith to Bapooji Vaman⁵. He again asked Prithvi Singh that the instalment be paid to Apaji Narain⁶.

The constant stream of reminders made the Maharaja depute Manorath Ram and Shah Khub Allah Khan to settle

¹ Sarkar *op cit* III, 10.

² (a) D O A B. From Maharaja Sawai Prithvi Singh to Mahadji Sindhia dated Phalgun Sudi 2 1828 V S (6 3 1772), Draft Kharita, Bundle No 14 Draft No 149.

(b) D O A B. From Mahadji Sindhia to Maharaja Sawai Prithvi Singh dated Phalgun Sudi 13, 1828 V S (17 3 1772) Kharita Section Gwalior Bundle.

³ D O A B. From Maharaja Sawai Prithvi Singh to Mahadji Sindhia, dated Chaitra Sudi 15 1829 V S (17 4 1772) Draft Kharita, Bundle No 14 Draft No 103.

⁴ D O A B. From Peshwa Madho Rao Ballal to Sawai Prithvi Singh, dated Jyesth Sudi 4 1827 V S (28 5 1770), Kharita Section.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ D O A B. From Peshwa Madho Rao Ballal to Maharaja Sawai Prithvi Singh, dated Kartik Badi 13, 1827 V S, (1 11 1770), Kharita Section.

the long standing arrears¹ They brought over Ghodoji Govind, the Peshwa's Vakil, for paying off the dues The Peshwa, again, complained that the arrears had not been received by him and that his Vakil who has been detained there should be sent back with the money² Prithvi Singh showed his willingness to pay and informed him that Ghodoji would be sent back after his return from Delhi³

Even though Jaipur paid the 'mamlat' dues, yet the various Maratha generals laid waste the country Ramchandra Ganesh devastated the country⁴ and was paid 5 lakhs of rupees Next came Mahadji and he was given one lakh and demanded the same amount more⁵ Visaji Krishna was also given a hundi of one and a half lakhs and hundi worth Rs 50,000⁶ Prithvi Singh asked Naram Rao, the new Peshwa, to check the Maratha generals⁷ who were creating disturbances in his country These invasions made Jaipur unable to pay the 'mamlat' dues for the year 1830 V S⁸ (8 7 1773 to 25 2 1774)

Thus the ascendancy of Sawai Prithvi Singh created a semblance of cordiality between the Rajputs and the Marathas The former were ineffective for obvious reasons, and the latter were preoccupied with their affairs in the Deccan.

- 1 D O A B From Peshwa Madho Rao Ballal to Maharaja Sawai Prithvi Singh dated Maghar Budi 7, 1828 V S (28 11 1771), Kharita Section
- 2 D O A B From Peshwa Madho Rao Ballal to Maharaja Sawai Prithvi Singh dated Maghar Budi 7, 1828 V S (28 11 1771), Kapat-dwara, No 184
- 3 D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Prithvi Singh to Peshwa Madho Rao Ballal, dated Magh Sudi 1828 V S (1771 72), Draft Kharita, Bundle No 14 Draft No 119
- 4 D O A B From Bohra Khushali Ram to Peshwa Naram Rao, dated Asadh Budi 5, 1830 V S (9 6 1773), Draft Kharita, Bundle No 14, Draft No 169
- 5 D O A B From Bohra Khushali Ram to Pandit Visaji, dated Jaisath Sudi 1830 V S (June 1773)
- 6 D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Prithvi Singh to Peshwa Naram Rao, dated Asadh Budi 6, 1830 (10 6 1773) Draft Kharita, Bundle No 14
- 7 D O A B From Bohra Khushali Ram to Peshwa Naram Rao, dated Baisakh Budi 4, 1830 V S (17 4 1773)
- 8 D O A B From Mahadji Sindhia to Maharaja Sawai Prithvi Singh, dated Bhrawan budi 9, 1832 V S (21 7 1775)

Chapter 3

Internal Rivalries in Mewar and Maratha Intervention (1761-82)

The period between 1761-82 in Mewar was marked by internal strifes. A civil war began in Mewar between Maharana Ari Singh and Rattan Singh. The latter declared himself to be the posthumous son of Rana Raj Singh II. The Marathas were called in time and again to help the rivals. Hardly had this come to an end when Mewar was governed by minor rulers. The ineffectiveness of the mother-queen, Sardar Kanwar, precipitated the conflict between the Chundawuts and Saktawuts.

The defeat of the Marathas by Ahmad Shah Abdali in the third battle of Panipat was also hailed by Mewar. The yearly exactions and the cavalier fashion in which Mewar was treated left nothing but deep-rooted hatred against the Marathas. But even after this Mewar was not prepared to join hands with Madho Singh. After rejecting his proposal Mewar made sporadic attempts to dislodge the Marathas.

The Chundawuts¹ drove away² the forces of Malhar Rao Holkar from Rampura, in eastern Rajputana. They took

1 One of the powerful clans of Mewar.

2 D.O.A.B. From Raj Badribhan to Maharana Raj Singh II, dated Chaitra Sud 7 1817 V.S. (28.3.1761).

possession of it under Khushal Deopura.¹ Mewar forces under Rawat Samant Singh² were despatched to Mallargarh. Rawat Jagat Singh of Kanod was also asked to join him with his forces earlier³ lest the Marathas should make a bid to gain it.

The seizure of Rampura from the Marathas—a fertile plain of Mewar alienated by Madho Singh to the Holkar family in 1752 A D—was an ominous beginning. It encouraged the Rajputs at their initial success and added a powerful source to the already depleted treasury. For the Marathas, it was a wave of revolt against their domination. They could not relish losing such a stronghold. So Krishnaji Tandeva, the Kamavishdar of Mahantpur, was ordered to recapture it.⁴ Mirza Adil Beg, an officer under Jankoji Sindhia, was also ordered to reach Rampura immediately.⁵ A minor skirmish followed between the rival forces. The Marathas killed four hundred Chundawuts and regained their lost post.⁶

At this time Rana Raj Singh II died.⁷ Being issueless, he was succeeded by his uncle, Ari Singh, on April 3, 1761.⁸ His bouts of irascibility divided the nobles of Mewar into numerous clan groups and further exposed them to Maratha depredations.

The Peshwa demanded ten to twenty lakhs of rupees as the succession fee from the new Maharana,⁹ as if he had become

1 (a) D O A B Copy of Kanod letter from Maharana Raj Singh II to Rawat Jagat Singh, dated Magh Sudi 13, 1817 V S (172 1761)

(b) D O A B Copy of Kanod letter from Maharana Raj Singh II to Rawat Jagat Singh, dated Phalgun Budi 7, 1817 V S (282 1761)

2 Rawat Samant Singh was a powerful Chundawut Sardar of the Maharana.

3 (a) D O A B Copy of Kanod letter from Maharana Raj Singh II to Rawat Jagat Singh, dated Phalgun Budi 7, 1817 V S (282 1761)

(b) D O A B Copy of Kanod letter from Maharana Raj Singh II to Rawat Jagat Singh, dated Magh Sudi 13, 1817 V S (172 1761)

4 S P D Vol XXVII letter No 271, dated May 20, 1761

5 Phalke A B, *Sindheshahi Itihasanchi Sadhna* (4 vols., Lashkar; Alijah Darbar Press 1928-37) Vol III, letter No 397

6 Ibid

7 Sarkar *op cit* II p 377 Gahlot I, p 266

8 S P D Vol XXVII, letter No 269, received dated June 19, 1761

the "Lord Paramount". He even instructed Malhar Rao Holkar, his assignee of the tribute from Mewar, to send Babooji Naik to Udaipur and impress upon the Maharana to pay it,¹ failing which to extract it by force of arms. But Babooji Naik left for the Deccan earlier and Holkar could not spare himself due to his engagement at Gagrani, where Abhay Singh Rathor² was creating disturbances³. Holkar sent a letter to the Maharana accordingly⁴ but the insincere protestations of the Marathas, unsupported by force, could not gain the desired objective. After capturing Gagrani, Holkar reached Rampura but was unable to go to Udaipur, for he was required at Indore, his capital⁵.

The Peshwa once again asked Malhar Rao Holkar to attack Mewar. He appointed Rama Rao Narsingh to help him. But Malhar Rao by this time was aware of the move at Jaipur to oust the Marathas from Rajputana. Therefore, he took to subdue it first⁶. He, however, sent Tukoji Holkar to realise the tribute. Mewar forces under Amar Chand, the chief royal adviser, and Kanod forces under Rawat Jagat Singh assembled at Pratapgarh to face the Marathas. Tukoji was forced to beat a retreat⁷.

The failure of Tukoji made it evident that the Rajputs required a formidable force to bring them to terms. It made the Marathas eager to avenge their retreat as soon as they were relieved from the engagements in other parts of Rajputana.

Malhar Rao's opportunity came in 1820 V.S. (1763-64). He sent a letter on Baisakh Budi 5, 1820 V.S.⁸ (31 1763) threatening the Maharana with dire consequences, if the dues from the Parganas of Budha, Jiran, Kanjora, Jamunia and

1 Ibid.

2 A trusted general of Maharao Chattrasal.

3 S.P.D. Vol. XXVII, letter No. 271 dated May 20 1761.

4 S.P.D. Vol. XXVII, letter No. 269, received dated June 19, 1761.

5 S.P.D. Vol. II letter No. 143.

6 S.P.D. Vol. XXVII, letter No. 276.

7 Opla, Rajputana, op. cit., pp. 243-46.

8 D.O. No. From Malhar Rao Holkar to Maharana Sri Singh dated Baisakh Budi 5 1820 V.S. (31 1763) *Kharita Mewar*.

Rampura were not cleared Maharana found it difficult to make the payment.¹ Malhar Rao, in the meantime, proceeded towards Ratlam² and continued his march towards Mewar. After realising tribute from Pratapgarh,³ he marched to Mewar. This made the Rana aware of the gathering storm on the horizon. He attempted to swing all the disgruntled elements against the Marathas in his favour. He deputed his foster-brother, Dhai Bhai Roopa, to the courts of Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh⁴ and Maharaja Bijay Singh, informing them of the designs of the Marathas and called upon them to unite against them. Maharaja Bijay Singh responded favourably.⁵ He also urged upon Madho Singh to join the league.⁶ But Madho Singh evaded it as he had not forgotten his own unhappy initiative for such a move before the battle of Bhatwara. Bijay Singh was safe at the moment, so he also did not care much about it. The Maharana found himself all alone to face the Marathas. His task became more difficult because of the enmity between the Chundawuts and the Saktawuts.⁷

Holkar entered Mewar at Jawad. The Maharana sent his forces under Pancholi Gulab Chand to check Malhar's depredations.⁸ Rawat Jagat Singh of Kanod was also asked to join him with all his forces.⁹ Holkar mercilessly ravaging the

1 D O A B From Dhai Bhai Roopa to Ganpatji, dated Baisakh Sudi 9, 1819 V S (22 4 1763), Khatut Ahalkaran, Bundle No 12

2 D O A B From Jodh Singh to Ganpatji, dated Baisakh Sudi 8, 1820 V S (21 4 1763), Khatut Ahalkaran, Bundle No 12

3 D O A B From Dhai Bhai Roopa to Ganpatji, dated Baisakh Sudi 9 1819 V S (22 4 1763) Khatut Ahalkaran, Bundle No 12

4 D O A B From Dhai Bhai Roopa to Ganpatji, dated Baisakh Sudi 4 1819 V S (24 1763) Khatut Ahalkaran, Bundle No 12.

5 D O A B From Maharaja Bijay Singh to Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh dated Baisakh Sudi 8, 1820 V S (21 4 1763), Kharata Section, Jodhpur Bundle

6 D O A B From Maharaja Bijay Singh to Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh dated Baisakh Sudi 12 1820 V S (23 4 1763), Kharata Section, Jodhpur Bundle

7 The two powerful clans of Mewar

8 D O A B Copy of Kanod letter from Maharana Arji Singh to Rawat Jagat Singh, dated Maghar Sudi 7, 1820 V S (27 11 1763)

9 Ibid.

outskirts reached Untala¹ The Maharana, while preparing himself for the defence, sent Rawat Jodh Singh, Dhai Bhai Roopa and Pancholi Jaswant Rao to offer terms Malhar Rao Holkar had been watching the preparations of the Maharana and deeming discretion the better part of valour, he sued for peace He demanded sixty lakhs of rupees to clear off all the dues of Mewar He was persuaded to accept forty-nine lakhs² Dhai Bhai remained with Holkar as a hostage and returned only in August 1764, when the time for making the payment approached³

The withdrawal of Holkar from Mewar was an opportunity for the Rajputs to sink their differences But this happy consummation could not be realised on account of the ignoble methods adopted by Maharana Ari Singh To stabilise his position the Maharana resorted to all sorts of base treacheries ranging from the murder of Nath Singh by hired assassins to offering of poisoned betel leaf to Rawat Jodh Singh of Salumber Mewar nobles were on the verge of revolt The Maharana sensing the gravity of the situation began to recruit Sindhvi soldiers This acted as a catalyst to precipitate their revolt Jaswant Singh of Deogarh brought Ratan Singh, the posthumous heir-apparent to Rana Raj Singh II, from the Gogunda Rani, to Kumbhalgarh

1 Ojha, Udaipur *op cit* p 958

2 Agreement between Malhar Rao Holkar and Maharana Ari Singh, dated Hansakh Budi 5 1820 V S (20 4 1764) Var Vindol p 1547

3 D O A B From Dhai Bhai Roopa to Ganpatji dated Bhadra 1820 V 4 (August-September 1764)

The given date is according to Shrawan Samvat, whereas if converted into Chaitra Budi it will come to 1821 Sarkar refers to the transaction of 1760 A D reached between the Peshwa and Mewar through the agency of Govind Krishna his nominee and Munshi Chuman Lal the Mewar minister acting on behalf of the Rana The liability of Rs 26 30 221 was fixed upon the Rana up to the year 1768 after abating four lakhs of rupees for punctual payment in future

This transaction of the year 1768 is beyond doubt and is confirmed by the official records of the period preserved at Poona and also by the files kept in the confidential office at Udaipur in which it has been made clear that an abatement of 4 lakhs of rupees was obtained through Chuman Lal Munshi But in addition to this there are concrete proofs to substantiate the fact that an agreement between Maharana and Holkar was signed in 1768

and proclaimed him Maharana against Ari Singh in 1764¹. Legend has it that Ratan Singh died at the age of seven on account of smallpox, but to keep the hostility alive, against the Maharana, the sardars substituted another child of his age. In the absence of recorded history it is difficult to accept or controvert it. It appears that the Sardars adopted such tactics as the safest means to appeal to other nobles who could thus be easily rallied under their banner. Basant Pal Deopura was appointed Pradhan.

Mahadji Sindhia reaped advantage out of the chaos and realised a part of his dues by deputing his agents. After it the Maharana prepared to oust Ratan Singh from Mewar which ultimately culminated in the battle of Sipra.

Both the sides began to hunt for allies². Maharaja Umed Singh of Shahpura and Rawat Pabar Singh favoured the Maharana³. Kunwar Ram Singh was posted earlier at Chittorgarh.

Firstly, as Sarkar mentions, Malhar Rao fixed the Mewar tribute at 25 lakh rupees in 1764, in addition to what was already due from there. This is confirmed by the agreement given in Vir Vinod by which Dhai Bhai Roopa, Rawat Jodh Singh and Pancholi Jasmant Rao were sent by the Maharana to offer terms and by the letter of Dhai Bhai Roopa dated Bhadra 1820 V S who remained with the Maratha sardar as a hostage for the punctual payment and was released only when the time for making the payment approached. This Maratha sardar can be none other than Malhar Rao Holkar.

By the agreement the past arrears were fixed at 23,67,900,8/- rupees and another 25 lakh rupees were imposed by Holkar out of which 17 lakhs were to go to Peshwa and five lakhs and three lakhs were to be realised by him and Sindhia respectively. Thus the total amount would come to Rs 48,67,900,8/- and not exactly 49 lakhs as given by Tul. Thus when Sarkar refers to the visit of Sindhia's Dewan in 1766 and about Maharana's promise to pay five lakhs of rupees, it is entirely a different visit and is not to be confused with the visit of Malhar Rao Holkar. Sarkar is correct when he says that Maharana was not in a position to pay such a staggering sum of 51 lakhs of rupees. But for the Rajputs the guiding word was procrastination. Sarkar, *op cit*, Vol II, pp. 276-79.

¹ Ojha Udaipur, *op cit*, pp. 953-59.

² Ibid.

³ *Samant Shahpura Khayat* Vol I folio 126-A.

to defend it against the protagonists of Ratan Singh.¹ Rawat Jagat Singh was asked by the Maharana to join Mewar forces.² He was also approached by the supporters of Ratan Singh. The Maharana addressed another 'Khas Rubha' to him to support his cause.³ On being persuaded⁴ by the nobles to support the Maharana, he at last decided in his favour.⁵ Hamir Singh of Banera was also approached by the two parties. Basant Pal Deopura even promised to reward him if he favoured Ratan Singh.⁶ But the Raja stuck faithfully to the side of the Maharana.⁷ His son, Rai Singh, led the Banera contingent in favour of the Maharana.⁸ Vyas Raghu Nath Rao was sent to Kota. The Maharao, Guman Singh, agreed to help the Maharana. Bijay Singh was also approached by the Maharana.⁹ But he favoured the cause of Ratan Singh,¹⁰ whose chief Basant Pal Depura promised to pay him fifteen lakhs of rupees,¹¹ on that

1 Ibid. folio 154 B

2 D O A B. From Maharana Ari Singh to Rawat Jagat Singh, dated Shrawan Budi 8, 1823 V S

3 D O A B. From Maharana Ari Singh to Rawat Jagat Singh, dated Shrawan Sudi 6 1823 V S

4 D O A B. From Rao Chand of Badla, Rawat Puhar Singh of Salumber, Raja Raghav Deo of Deiwara and Maharaja Muhakam Singh of Bhindar to Rawat Jagat Singh, dated Shrawan Budi 8 1823 V S

5 Banera : File No. 63, letter No. 3, dated first Shrawan Budi 13, 1823 V S

6 Banera. From Basant Pal Deopura to Hamir Singh, dated Phalgun Budi 5, 1823 V S

7 Banera. From Rawat Isham Singh to Raja Hamir Singh, dated Kartika Sudi 13 1823 V S

8 (a) A O K. Bhandar No 5, Basti No. 27, dated 1st Shrawan Budi 4 1823

(b) Saraswati Bhandar. Agreement dated Ashoj Sudi 3 1824 V S

9 D O A B. Dastari Records Basti No 3, File No. 3 letter No. 1, dated Vashd Budi 14, 1824 V S

10 (a) D O A B : Ari Bala No. 4 folio 13 B dated Maghar Budi 12, 1823 V S (312165)

(b) Ari Bala No. 4 folio 12) B, date half of Pausa 1823 V S (2912176)

11 D O A B. Dastari Records Basti No. 3 file No. 3 letter No. 7 dated second Shrawan Budi 12 1823 V S

account. Zahm Singh was won over by the Maharana by assigning Cheeta Kheri to him.¹

The Maharana also tried to conciliate the Maratha generals posted in Mewar. Sindhia's generals, Raghu Ram Paigaya and Beharji Takpur, were groaning under their patron's tyranny and had offered earlier to serve the Maharaja of Shahpura,² who now was favouring Maharana Ari Singh. They were approached by Pandit Lal Ji and Jhala Kirat Singh.³ They promised to restore the authority of the Maharana on being paid 25 lakhs of rupees.⁴ It is evident from the agreement that Raghu Ram Paigaya supported the Maharana as it has been clearly laid down that jewellery given to Paigaya against his support would not in any way reduce the amount payable to Sindhia.⁵ Ratan Singh was not to lag behind. His chief, Basant Pal Deopura, prevailed upon Raghu Deo of Dilwara to support his master's cause. Rawat Jaswant Singh of Deogarh and the Sardars of Bhunder, Bagun and Amet were won over.⁶ The Maharana now launched an offensive against Kumbhalgarh, the stronghold of Ratan Singh.⁷ He sought shelter under Yeshwant Rao Bable and Sada Shiv Gangadhar and promised to pay them 6 lakhs of rupees.⁸ He persuaded them to secure the support of the Peshwa, Madhav Rao. The Maharana also made a bid through Vishnu Mahadeo and Shiv Kant Vyas. The Peshwa rejected the offer⁹ of Ratan Singh and instructed Raghu Ram Paigaya¹⁰ and Behar Ji Takpur to help the Maharana.

1 (a) A O K Bhandar No 1, Basta No 59, Do Varkhu Parchazat

(b) Ibid Bhandar No 5, Basta No 15

2 Sitamow Shahpura Khajast, Vol I, folio 154 B.

3 Ibid Folio 154 B and 155 A

4 Vir Vinod, pp 1553-54 Agreement between Maharana Ari Singh and Beharji Takpur etc dated Bhadva Sudi 14, 1825 V S

5 Ibid

6 Sitamow Shahpura Khajast, Vol I, Folio 155 A

7 D O A B From Rao Ramchandra etc to Rawat Jagat Singh dated 1st Shrawan Budi 8 1825 V S

8 Banera From Rawat Magh Singh to Raja Rai Singh of Banera, dated first Shrawan Sudi 6 1825 V S

9 B I S M Quarterly July to October, 1932, p 79

10 (a) D O A B Ari Bahi No 4, folio 240 B, dated Posh Budi 6, 1825 V S

(b) Banera File No 75, folio 240-B, dated Posh Budi 6, 1825 V S

Ratan Singh then made a bid to win over Mahadji Sindhia. He left for Ujjain accompanied with Yashwant Rao Bable, and met Sindhia¹. Ratan Singh agreed to pay him 30 lakhs of rupees on condition of his securing the throne of Mewar. One-third of it was to be paid in advance and the rest after his installation on the throne². Thus Mahadji made an agreement in contravention of the one reached by his generals with Maharana Ari Singh³. Having achieved this, Ratan Singh left Ujjain on Kartik Sudi 13, 1825 V S⁴ (22.11.1768).

Sindhia now prepared himself for the battle. He successfully prevailed upon Sawai Prithvi Singh to send his forces under Raj Singh⁵. Bijay Singh was asked to favour Ratan Singh on threats of punishment⁶. The Maharaja also tried to seek his co-operation but failed in it⁷. Sindhia intended to fight out the issue earlier but his lack of forces did not enable him to act.

When the Maharana came to know of Sindhia's intentions, he sent⁸ a deputation to win him over, but it failed. The Maharana

1 (a) D O \ B Gwalior Bundle, Kharita Section, dated Kartik Sudi 14, 1825 V S

(b) Ibid, dated Maghar Sudi 4, 1825 V S

(c) Banora File No 1 letter No 11, dated Kartik Sudi 8, 1825

2 Banora File No 1 letter No 11, dated Kartik Sudi 8, 1825 V S

3 D O A B Gwalior Bundle, Kharita Section, dated Maghar Sudi 4, 1825 V S

4 (a) Ibid Sitamow Shahpura Khayat folio 158 A and 162 A mentions that Ratan Singh was present at the battle

5 (a) D O \ B Gwalior Bundle, Kharita Section dated Maghar Sudi 4, 1825 V S

(b) D O A B Draft Kharita Bundle No 12, draft No 126, dated Posh Budi 2, 1825 V S

6 (a) D O A B Arzi Bahi No 4, folio 68 A, dated Maghar Budi 2, 1825 V S

(b) Ibid Arzi Bahi No 4 folio 240 B, dated Posh Budi 6, 1825 V S

(c) Ibid Arzi Bahi No 4 folio 159 A dated Posh Budi 9, 1825 V S

(d) Ibid Arzi Bahi No. 4, folio 68 A dated Magh Budi 4, 1825 V S

(e) Ibid Arzi Bahi No 4 folio 81 A dated Magh Budi 12, 1825 V S

(f) Ibid Gwalior Bundle Kharita Section, dated Posh Sudi 12, 1825 V S

7 D O \ B : Dastari Records, Bundle No 3 file No. 3 letter No 4, dated 5th of the Dark Half of Chaitra 1826 V S

8 Var Vinod pp 1534-35

again made a bid by deputing Mahariya Ummed Singh, Rawat Pahar Singh to win him over. An army 12,000 strong² accompanied them to make a favourable impression. An appeal to arms was to be made as the last resort only. Zahm Singh, Raghu Ram Paigaya and Daula Mian also accompanied to Ujjain.³ They encamped on one side of the river Sipra. Sindhua came later on and encamped on the other side of it. He had a force 35,000 strong.⁴ Sindhua proposed that an equal division of Mewar be made between Ratan Singh and Maharana Ari Singh, but it was rejected by Maharaja Ummed Singh.⁵

When persuasion failed, minor skirmishes began on January 13, 1769.⁶ These continued indecisively for three days. Then the Maharaja assembled all his Sardars and decided to give a pitched battle.⁷ The forces were lined up in battle array.⁷ The Rajputs made a furious attack and were on the verge of victory. They mercilessly cleared the Maratha forces and made them flee. Exactly at this moment fortune favoured the Marathas. Mahadji was helped by some 15,000 forces sent by Rawat Jaswant Singh, to help his son Raghar Deo. The Maharaja was frightened by the increasing number of Sindhua's forces. He, in order to give a boost to his forces, ordered Kale Khan to be present

1 Sitamow Shahpura Khayat, Vol I, folio 156 B

2 D O A B Arzi Bahi No. 4, folio 63 A, dated Magasr Badi 2, 1823 V.S.

3 Sitamow Shahpura Khayat, Vol I, folio 156 B

4 Ibid folio 156 B and 157 A

5 (a) Ibid, folio 157 A

(b) Kota Nal Ka Bhandar, dated Shrawan, 1823 V.S. Sarkar doubts the authenticity of such a war being waged between the two opponents because of the long distance separating Ujjain and Udaipur. Such an erroneous opinion was the result of his having no access to the records preserved at Kota and Binera. At the same time he missed the agreement given in Vir Vinod at pp 1503-54 of Beharji Takpur and Raghu Ram. In the absence of these records it was but impossible to derive any other conclusion.

6 Sitamow (a) Shahpura Khayat Vol I, folio 157 A

(b) Jodhpur Rajya Ki Khayat, Vol III, p. 406

7 On one side Rawat Pahar Singh commanded the forces, on the other side were the Khilasa forces of the Maharana and the central position was occupied by the Maharaja himself along with 5000 forces. Shahpura Khayat Vol I folio 158 A & B

with him and keep the Saffron flag tacked to his spear, high up in the sky to mark his (the Maharaja's) presence¹ The battle continued and the Rajput forces were heartened by the presence of the Maharaja At last the treachery of Kalo Khan² and the swelling number of Mahadji's forces unnerved the Mewar forces and forced them retreat³ The big losses in Mewar camp were the death of Rai Singh of Banera,⁴ along with his two nobles, Ratan Singh and Uday Singh⁵ Raghu Ram and Daula Mian fell fighting Raja Ummed Singh and Rawat Pahar Singh met their death⁶ Agar Chand and Man Singh were captured by the Marathas Zalim Singh lay wounded in the battlefield and was taken prisoner by the Marathas⁷ He fell into the hands of Trimbak Rao Ingolia, an officer of Sindhia, and was confined in the fort of Gangrar Ambaji offered a ransom of Rs 60,000 to Sindhia for releasing Zalim Singh⁸ As a Jagirdar of Sindhia, Ambaji could not have the audacity of offering a ransom for Zalim Singh who fought against Sindhia What seems probable is that Ambaji's wife was the adopted sister of Mahadji and used to send 'Rakhi' to him The Rajputs and Marathas exchanged 'Rakhis'⁹ and as was customary, presents were always sent in return She was instructed by Ambaji to demand the release of Zalim Singh on some auspicious occasion and the opportunity came the same year

Sindhia was in high spirits at his success Sindhia informed

1 Satamow Shahpura Khayat, folio 158 B

2 Ibid. folio 160 A

3 D O A B Gwalior Bundle, Khairat Section dated Magh Budi 13, 1825 V.S

4 Banera File No. 73, letter No. 3, dated Magh Budi 15, 1825 V.S

5 Banera : Bahil of Samvat 1823, dated Posh Sudi 9 1825 V.S

6 Eighty seven ardars and soldiers of the Raja also fell fighting In all about 3500 Rajput soldiers lay dead and 900 were wounded Shahpura Khayat Vol I, folio 162 A and 163 A

(a) Shahpura Khayat Vol I, folio 162 A

(b) Jodhpur Rajya ki Khayat, Vol II, p. 466

7 A O K. Bhandar No 3 Baste No 15 1824 27 V.S.

8 Ojha Udaipur op cit p 963

9 A O K Bhandar No 3 Baste No 1, dated Shrawan Budi 11, 1825 V.S (2271769)

Maharaja Prithvi Singh that the opponents were given due punishment. He also informed that they would be proceeding shortly towards Mewar with Ratan Singh and asked to despatch the forces under Raj Singh.¹ He besieged Udaipur in the second week of April 1769.² The siege was slackly conducted. Maharana Ari Singh sought the help of his nobles. Rathor Shiv Singh of Roopaheli and the nobles of Bhagnore responded favourably.³ Agar Chand Mehta, who was included in the Ministry, defended the city remarkably well.⁴ Tukoji Holkar, who was at Kota, was sent to Udaipur by the Peshwa to help the Maharana against Ratan Singh.⁵ His coming to Udaipur further weakened Sindhia's position. This attitude of Holkar coupled with the non-payment of money from the protagonists of Ratan Singh, and the security measures of Agar Chand, made Sindhia open negotiations with the Maharana. He agreed to accept 35 lakhs of rupees out of which 25 lakhs were to go to the Peshwa, ten lakhs for himself and Holkar to be shared equally.⁶ But he suddenly changed his mind. This made Holkar so nervous that he left Udaipur on June 2, 1769.⁷ The siege dragged on and Maharana Ari Singh was in a tight corner. He sent Rawat Arjun Singh to Sindhia. The latter agreed to accept seventy lakhs of rupees as the dues from Udaipur.⁸ But soon after the settlement, Sindhia was informed of the acute shortage of grain in the camp of the Maharana. So he repudiated the agreement by making another demand of 20 lakhs more.⁹ But Mahadji soon came to his senses by the difficulties he was facing there. Another agreement through the good offices of Rahim Beg, representing Sindhia, was made by which the Maharana agreed to pay 60 lakhs of rupees besides

1 D O A B From Madhav Rao Sindhi to Maharaja Sawai Prithvi Singh, dated Magh Sud: 13, 1826 V S (4.2 1769)

2 S P D Vol XXIX letter No 234 dated May 16, 1769

3 D O A B From Shah Hem Raj Nathu Ram of Shahpura to Jaswant Singh dated Phalgun Sud: 10 1823 V S (17.3 1769), Khatut Ahalkaran, Bundle No 12

4 Shyamal Das, *op cit*, pp 1562-63

5 S P D Vol XXIX letter No 243, dated July 27 1769

6 S P D Vol XXIX, letter No 239

7 S P D Vol XXIX, letter No 243, dated July 27, 1769,

8 Shyamal Das, *op cit* p 1563

9 Ibid

3½ lakhs for office expenditure¹ In addition the following terms were agreed upon² —

(a) Ratan Singh should settle at Mandsour³ and a jagir worth seventy five thousand would be given to him If after his death his heir left Mandsour the jagir would once again be possessed by the Darbar

(b) All military posts of Sindhia in Mewar were to be evacuated

(c) Bable's forces were to withdraw from Mewar

(d) The money realised from Begun was to be adjusted against the agreement

(e) The present rights and privileges of the chiefs of the parganas handed over to Sindhia should continue

(f) The Maratha forces numbering two to three thousand were to be stationed in Mewar for three months at the expenses of Sindhia But if detained afterwards by the Maharana it would be at his cost

(g) The vakils of the Maharana were to remain at the court of Sindhia

(h) The territory captured by Ratan Singh and his accomplices was to be restored

(i) The tribute realised by the generals of Sindhia—Bable, Sadashiv Gangadhar and Beharji Takpir after Shrawan Budi 3, 1826 V S (21 7 1769)—was to count towards the payment due to Sindhia The jewellery given to Raghoram Payaga for his military support would not in any way reduce the amount payable to Sindhia

(j) The money given to Sindhia should be shared by Holkar, Sindhia and Panwar and receipt thereof bear the Peshwa's official stamp

1 Office expenditure or Mootsadi Kharch was an authorised article of every Maratha Mamla or war contribution.

2 Bhjmal Das *op cit.* p 1563 Agreement signed by Bhan Singh, Patilkar Amar Chand and Patichols Jasot Ram on the part of Maharana and Rahun Beg on the part of Sindhia The agreement bears the seal of Maharana Ats Singh.

3 It is situated on the bank of the river Bwana, a tributary of the Bpara, on the Upper Khairwa Branch of the meter gauge

(k) Sindhia was to exterminate jagirdars and others likely to disturb the peace of Mewar

The distribution was to be as follows 25 lakhs were to go to Peshwa, 12 lakhs and 50 thousand each to Tukoji Holkar and Mahadji Sindhia with an additional ten lakhs as 'Nazar' and war expenses to Sindhia and 3½ lakhs as 'Darbar' expenses. The mode of payment was agreed upon as follows

(a) Rs 15 lakhs in jewellery,

(b) Rs 10 lakhs in cash and clothes including Rs 3,50,000 in gold and cash, fifty thousand in clothes, one lakh in hundi and five lakhs in cash to Pandit Raghunath Sadashiv Rao,

(c) The balance of 35 lakhs of rupees was to be paid in four instalments as follows, first instalment of ten lakhs was to be paid within three months, i.e., up to Kartik Budi 3, 1826 V S (18 10 1769),

(d) The second and third instalments each of Rs 7,50,000 were to be paid on Posh Sudi 15, 1826 V S (11 1 1770) and Chaitra Sudi 15, 1826 V S (10 4 1770) respectively,

(e) The last instalment of ten lakhs was to be handed over on Asadh Sudi 15, 1826 V S¹ (7 7 1770)

Having reached the agreement, Sindhia stayed in Mewar up to Shrawan Budi 3, 1826 V S² (21 7 1769) for making necessary arrangements, when he left for Ujjain³. He left instructions with the nobles of Mewar to be in attendance upon the Rana with a view to suppressing any uprising against him⁴.

1 Mehta Sangram Singh's Collection Agreement dated Shrawan Budi 1 1826 V S (19 7 1769)

2 Banera From Maharana Ari Singh to Raja Hamir Singh, dated Shrawan Budi 8 1826 V S (26 7 1769) Gahlot I, p 267

3 D O A B Dastari records Basta No 3 File No 3 letter No 1, dated Bhadra Budi 5 1826 V S (22 8 1769) From Maharana Ari Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh Gahlot I, p 267
Sindhia left Govind Rao to look after his interests. He instructed Bijay Singh likewise

4 (a) D O A B From Subedar Mahadji Sindhia to Chitra Singh, dated Kartik Budi 7 1826 V S (21 10 1769)

(b) Banera From Subedar Mahadji Sindhia to Raja Hamir Singh, dated Maghar Sudi 14 1826 V S (12 12 1769) File No 32 letter No 2

Though the Maharana had promised to pay, Mewar did not have the amount. The Maharana somehow made a partial payment in the following order¹

- (a) Rs 7,46,351/13/- on Shrawan Budi 11, 1826 V S (29 7 1769)
- (b) Rs 7,00,000/- twice to Raghunath Sadashiv on Shrawan Budi 11, 1826 V S (29 7 1769)
- (c) Rs 3,50,000/ cash and jewellery
- (d) Rs 2,46,488/3/- clothes
- (e) Rs 1,00,000/- Begun affairs
- (f) Rs 1,00,000/ expenses incurred by the Maharana on the army of Mahadji Sindhia kept at Udaipur
- (g) Rs 5,50,000/- realised by the Maratha sardars from Khalsa land as well as from the nobles which included
(a) Rs 17 500/- paid by Rawat Arjun Singh to Holkar's representative Sadashiv Rao, (b) one lakh in cash paid by the Maharana
- (h) Rs 75,000/- realised from Khalsa land
- (i) Rs 2,50,000/- realised by Mahadji Sindhia from the Khalsa land from Phalgun 1826 V S to Ashoj Sudi 15, 1827 V S (February 1769 to September 1770)
- (j) Rs 1,00 000/- paid to Jaswant Rao Bable on behalf of Sindhia in five months

(Contd. from previous page)

- (c) The narrative given in these pages along with the strategy of the war, the losses in the Rajput camps and the agreement given in Vir Vinod and Mehta Sangram Singh's Collection prove beyond doubt that such a battle was waged at Sipsa. It has been further corroborated by a letter sent by Shah Hem Raj Nathu Ram of Shahpura to Jaswant Singh on Phalgun Sudi 10, 1825 V S. It acknowledges the defeat of the Maharana without any reservations and informs that Rathor Shiv Singh of Rupabeli and the nobles of Phagnore favoured the Maharana. (D O A B. Khatut Akhal karan Buzille No 12 dated Phalgun Sudi 12 1825 V S). The Khua Rukha of the Maharana to Agarji further clears all the doubts regarding the defeat of the Maharana's forces in the battle of Sipsa (Rajasthan History Congress Session 1967 proceedings, p 121, Article of Dr. K. S. Goyta)

1 Mehta Sangram Singh's Collection. Account of Holkar Sindhia and Peshwa from Shrawan Budi 1826 to the end of 1827 V S

(b) Rs 25,000/- to Beharji Takpur

(i) For the balance of rupees 34,25,000/- the Maharana assigned the districts of Jawad, Jiran, Neemuch and Morwan to Sindhia on condition that these territories would be ruled jointly with an annual investigation of accounts¹ Another 62 villages were mortgaged with the Marathas in Baisakh 1827 V S (April 1771) for the payment of the monthly dues to Pandit Ganga Dhar Rao, the Peshwa, Holkar and Sindhia²

The mortgaged lands were converted into Maratha pockets in 1831 V S (1774) when Sindhia dismissed Mewar officers. The Maharana because of his weakness could not show his resentment. Excepting a momentary possession of these lands in the year 1851 V S (1794) the fertile plains were, for all practical purposes, remained severed from Mewar.

The Marathas, by coming nearer to Mewar, posed a constant threat to the Maharana. He had to remain in a state of preparedness to save his land from their depredations. This was, again, a drain on his resources. The only advantage that the Maharana could derive was to call in the Marathas whenever he had to subdue internal revolts.

Though the agreement with Sindhia was signed, yet his generals continued plundering the territories of Mewar in scant regard for the agreement. Chuluji made repeated attacks on Banera, Mandal, Lambia and subjected them to devastation³. His activities were only stopped when Govind Rao,⁴ from Jiran, forbade him from pursuing these aggressive activities⁵.

The Rana's weak position made Ratan Singh start his

1 Ibid. Vansh Bhaaskar on p. 3750 mentions that Zalim Singh was kept as a hostage with the Marathas for the payment but it does not appear to be correct as the parganas were ceded in lieu of payment and so the necessity of keeping a hostage was not required.

2 D O A B. Agreement between Mewar and Marathas, dated Baisakh Budi 13 1827 V S (12 4 1771).

3 Banera. From Chuluji to Raja Hamur Singh dated Baisakh Budi 5, 1827 V S (4 4 1771).

4 Sindhia & Naib at Jiran.

5 Banera. From Govind Rao to Raja Hamur Singh dated Magh Sudi 11, 1827 V S (27 1 1771).

activities once again. He was not satisfied with the meagre provisions made for him in the agreement. He was aware of the help which he could get from Jaipur, as the queen-mother, a daughter of Deogarh Chief who was his firm adherent, now dominated the inner councils there. In 1770 Raghava Deo and Mohkam Singh came to Mewar with 15,000 forces and started plundering. They assembled at Mokunda. The Maharana defeated them. This could not crush the rebels completely. They again gathered a force ten thousand strong of Jogis¹ and the refractory nobles of Mewar under Muhata Ram, Shah Kuber Chand and Kushal Chand Deopura. They encamped at Nagri.² The Jogis created disturbances in Mewar. They unsuccessfully deputed Surat Ram to bring forces from Banera.³ The Maharana himself encamped at Nathwara to quell the disturbances.⁴ He was accompanied by Arjun Singh of Kusabar, Rawat Fateh Singh of Kottariya and Rao Sudh Karan of Bijolia with five hundred cavalry and one thousand infantry. The Jogis fought doggedly but were repulsed. They took refuge in the fort of Gagrani. It was bombarded and Amar Chand Deopura was imprisoned. The Jogis were let off only when they took a vow not to act against the Maharana in future.⁵ This battle weakened the hands of Ratan Singh. The Maharana utilised the opportunity to stamp out his power completely. He sent Rawat Bhim Singh to take possession of Chittor⁶ from Muhata Surat Ram, a firm adherent of Ratan Singh. Hearing of an attack on Chittor, Bijay Singh advised Surat Ram to hand over the fort to the Maharana.⁷ It was accepted and the fort was handed over on

1 These Jogis were ascetics and formed a sizable portion of Jaipur Army.

2 Banera. From Viram Das Ghana Rao to Raja Hamir Singh, dated Bhadra Badi 14, 1827 V.S. (20.8.1770).

3 Banera. Bahi Samvat 1827 dated Maghar Badi 3, 1827 V.S. (6.11.1770).

4 Banera. From Viram Das Ghana Rao to Raja Hamir Singh, dated Bhadra Badi 14, 1827 V.S. (20.8.1770).

5 Shyamal Das *op cit.*, pp. 1570-71.

6 It is situated in 26° 53' N and 76° 39' E. The famous fort stands on a long narrow hill about 500 feet above the surrounding plain.

7 D.O.B. : Jodhpur records, Arzi Bahi No. 4. Folio 131B dated Baisakh Badi Amavash 1828, V.S. (15.4.1771). From Maharaja Bijay Singh to Muhata Surat Ram.

Kartik Sudi 6, 1828 V S. (12 11 1771) as it could not escape capitulation. It appears that Bijay Singh wanted to regain the confidence of the Maharana.

The Maharana then sent Bagh Singh to attack Godwad—the last stronghold of Ratan Singh.¹ It was captured. Bagh Singh informed the Rana that, if proper reinforcements were not kept, Ratan Singh would always be active there. The Maharana could not spare his own forces for fear of the Maratha attacks. So he asked Bijay Singh to keep his forces there and, in return, offered the revenues of Godwad to him. Bijay Singh got hold of it² but made no attempts to crush the power of Ratan Singh. The Maharana asked him to make proper arrangement³ Bijay Singh made vague and evasive replies to the plans of the Maharana, so the good offices of the Bikaner Maharaja were utilised for repossessing it but it proved ineffective.⁴ Though Goswami, the spiritual guide of Bijay Singh, prevailed upon him to consent the transfer to the Maharana but the Rathor sardars stationed there did not carry it out.⁵ Mewar lost a rich province.

The constant failure of Ratan Singh did not dishearten him for gaining the throne of Mewar. He again attempted to dislodge the Maharana from it. Jaswant Singh, who was his firm

1 D O A B Dastari records, Basta No 3, File No 4, letter No 11, dated Chaitra Budi 5, 1828 V S (16 3 1770) From Maharana Ari Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh, Gahlot I, p 268, Vir Vinod, V 2, p 1571

2 D O A B Dastari records, Basta No 3 file No 1, letter No 6, dated Kartik Budi 3, 1827 V S (7 10 1770) From Maharana Ari Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh

3 D O A B Dastari records Basta No 3 File No 3 letter No 1, dated Bhadra Budi 10, 1828 V S (4 9 1771) From Maharana Ari Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh. Bijay Singh kept 3000 forces there. Letter from Shri Chand Mehta to Jaswant Rai, dated Posh Sudi 15, 1827 V S (30 12 1770) Udaipur Records

4 D O A B From Maharaja Gaj Singh to Maharaja Sawai Prithvi Singh, dated Posh Sudi 7 1828 V S (12 1 1772), Bharata Section

5 D O A B Dastari records, Basta No 3, File No 1, letter No 3, dated Baisakh Budi 11, 1827 V S From Maharana Ari Singh to Bijay Singh

adherent, hired a foreign adventurer, Samru¹. He alongwith his son, Raghav Deo, despatched his forces towards Mewar².

Peshwa, Madho Rao, reproached Prithvi Singh for his unbecoming attitude. He wrote, "Raghav Deo, son of Rawat Jaswant Singh of Deogarh, has been assisting Ratan Singh in disturbing the peace of Mewar for the last three years and that Durbar is also behaving improperly by sending his troops to assist Ratan Singh." He asked him to recall his forces³. Tukoji also wrote him in a harsh tone "This is not proper on the part of the Darbar. Rawat Jaswant Singh is a servant of Dewan Ari Singh from the very beginning and to join with a man of such a class does not become of him." He further desired "Durbar should advise the above-mentioned Rawat to maintain peace and not let Samru proceed onwards"⁴. Tukoji even offered to mediate between him and Rana Ari Singh⁵. The letters of Tukoji and Peshwa did not have the desired effect⁶.

1 Samru's original name was Walter Rainhardt. He was born in A.D. 1720 and came to Pondicherry. He enlisted himself as an ordinary soldier under the name of Somers. But the native people began to call him Samru. He served the East India Company for a few days but seeing no prospects of his rise he made a bid to serve the native states and changed his masters as often as it suited his interests. He served the Nawab Wazir of Oudh then proceeded to Bharatpur and then took service at Jaipur. He was granted the Jagir of Sardhana by Najaf Khan. He died at Agra in 1776.

2 D.O. & B. Jodhpur records, Arzi Bahi No. 4, Folio 30 B, dated Magasir Budi 14, 1828 V.S. (5.12.1771). From Maharana Ari Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh.

3 (a) D.O. & B. From Peshwa Madho Rao Ballal to Maharaja Sawai Prithvi Singh dated second Asadh Budi 9, 1828 V.S. (6.7.1771). No. 183 Kapat-dwara.

(b) D.O. & B. : From Peshwa Madho Rao Ballal to Maharaja Sawai Prithvi Singh, dated Kartik Budi 7, 1828 V.S. (12.11.1771). Kharita Section.

4 D.O. & B. : From Subedar Tukoji Holkar to Maharaja Sawai Prithvi Singh, dated Ashoj Budi 10, 1828 V.S. (3.10.1771), No. 189, Kapat-dwara.

5 D.O. & B. : From Subedar Tukoji Holkar to Maharaja Sawai Prithvi Singh dated Asad Budi 9, 1828 V.S. (2.10.1771). Indore Bundle.

6. (a) D.O. & B. : From Maharaja Sawai Prithvi Singh to Subedar Tukoji Holkar dated Asadh Budi 10, 1828 V.S. (25.8.1772). Kharita Section.

(b) D.O. & B. : From Maharaja Sawai Prithvi Singh to Tukoji Holkar, dated Magasir Budi 8, 1828 V.S. (18.11.1772), Draft Kharita.

Meanwhile, the Peshwa deputed Pandit Govind Rao and asked Bijay Singh to help him with his forces to establish peace in Mewar¹ In another letter he urged upon Bijay Singh not to be misled by the refractory nobles of Mewar² He asked him to make every endeavour to establish peace³ He also advised him to act according to the instructions of Govind Rao⁴

Taking cognizance of the instructions of the Peshwa to Bijay Singh, the Maharana sent Rawat Sawai Singh, Purohit Surat Ram and Rawat Arjun Singh to Jodhpur for consultations The deputation reached there on Kartik Budi 14, 1828 V S (5 11 1771) and had a meeting with Bijay Singh⁵ They left Jodhpur on Kartik Sudi 2, 1828 V S⁶ (8 11 1771) Bijay Singh informed the Maharana of starting on Magsar Sudi 4, 1828 V S⁷ (10 12 1771) and assured the Peshwa to act according to his instructions⁸ He got an unqualified support for

- 1 (a) D O A B Dastari records, Basta No 6, File No 6, letter No 13, dated second Asadh Budi 2, 1828 V S (29 6 1771) From Peshwa Madho Rao Ballal to Maharaja Bijay Singh.
- (b) D O A B Jodhpur records, Arzi Bahi No 4, Folio 32B, dated Jaisth Sudi 6, 1828 V S (20 5 1771) From Maharaja Bijay Singh to Peshwa Madho Rao Ballal
- 2 D O A B Dastari records, Basta No 6, File No 6, letter No 14, dated second Asadh Budi 7, 1828 V S (4 7 1771) From Peshwa Madho Rao Ballal to Maharaja Bijay Singh
- 3 Ibid
- 4 (a) D O A B Dastari records, Basta No 6, File No 6, letter No 15, dated second Asadh Budi 7, 1828 V S (4 7 1771) From Peshwa Madho Rao Ballal to Maharaja Bijay Singh
- (b) D O A B Dastari records, Basta No 6, File No 6 letter No 11, dated second Asadh Budi 11, 1828, V S (9 7 1771) From Madho Rao Ballal to Maharaja Bijay Singh.
- 5 D O A B Jodhpur records Hakikat Bahi No 1, Folio 538-A, dated Kartika Budi 14, 1828 V S (5 11 1771)
- 6 D O A B Jodhpur records, Hakikat Bahi No 1, Folio 539 A, dated Kartik Sudi 2 1828 V S (8 11 1771)
- 7 D O A B Jodhpur records, Arzi Bahi No 4, dated Magsar Budi 15, 1828 V S (6 12 1771) From Khuchi Gordhan Das to Umed Singh
- 8 D O A B Dastari records Arzi Bahi No 4 Folio 30B, dated Magsar Budi 14, 1828 V S (5 12 1771) From Maharaja Bijay Singh to Peshwa Madho Rao Ballal Arzi Bahi No 4, Folio 30A dated Magh Sudi 6, 1828 V S (10 2 1772) From Maharaja Bijay Singh to Mahadji Sindhu

this¹ Bijay Singh found Mewar's affairs in confusion due to Holkar's interference and so he left Govind Rao and instructed his own forces to be in obedience upon him. He returned to Jodhpur in June, 1772²

Samru, in the meantime, advanced towards Dab,³ in Ajmer, and entered Mewar. The news of Samru's arrival reached the Maharana when he was at Bahayas⁴. The Maharana asked for immediate assistance from Hamir Singh, the Raja of Banera. He sent a force under Shah Anandi Ram⁵. Both the parties faced each other on the banks of the Khari river when a battle ensued lasting indecisively for three days. At this time Tukoji asked Maharaja Prithvi Singh to seek the mediation of Raja Bahadur Singh of Kishangarh⁶ and Rawat Bhim Singh⁷. Raja Bahadur Singh had the advantage of being the father in law of Rana Ari Singh, and a close friend of Samru. He came to Mewar in Kartik 1828 V S⁸ (October-November 1771) and ultimately directed Samru to give up his pursuits⁹. Samru agreed to be in the service of the Maharana at Rs 30,000 per month.

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- 1 D O A B : Dastari records, Basti No 6, File No 6, letter No 12, dated Maghar Sudi 9, 1828 V S (15.12.1771). From Peshwa Madho Rao Ballal to Maharaja Bijay Singh.
 - 2 D O A B : Arzi Bahi No 4, f 32 dated Jaisath Sudi 6, 1828 V S (7.6.1772). From Maharaja Bijay Singh to Mahadji Sindhus.
 - 3 Banera : Bahi Samvat 1827, dated second Asadh Budi 5, 1828 V S (2.7.1771).
 - 4 Shyamal Das *op cit.*, pp 1575-76.
 - 5 Banera : Bahi Samvat 1827 dated Jaisath Sudi 14, 1827 (27.5.1771) and second Asadh Budi 5, 1827 V S (2.7.1771).
 - 6 A State lying almost in the centre of Rajputana between 23° 49' and 26° 59' N and 70° 40' and 75° 11' E.
 - 7 (a) D O A B : From Subedar Tukoji Holkar to Maharaja Sawas Prithvi Singh, dated Bhadra budi 4 1828 V S (12.9.1771).
(b) Banera : From Lal Singh Jai Ram Singh etc to Daulat Ram, Nand Ram, dated second Asadh Budi 10, 1827 V S (7.7.1771).
 - 8 D O A B : From Maharaja Prithvi Singh to Subedar Tukoji Holkar dated Kartik 1828 (October-November 1771), Kharita Section.
 - 9 D O A B : Jodhpur records, Arzi Bahi No 4, Folio 31B dated Phalgun Budi 10, 1828 V S (29.2.1772). From Maharaja Bijay Singh to Peshwa Madho Rao Ballal.

Peace with Samru was a death blow to the aspirations of Ratan Singh, for now onwards his own followers, taking his cause to be a dying one, gave it up. The soil of Mewar was cleared of the pretenders and the posthumous sons and she could thus breathe a sigh of relief.

It was another ill luck for Mewar to witness the death of Rana Ari Singh at such a time. His death let loose the forces of disintegration. He was succeeded by his son Hamir Singh, a minor, in March 1773. Bagh Singh and Arjun Singh undertook to run the government but soon the queen-mother, Sardar Kanwar, usurped all power. The administration was carried on with difficulty due to party factions at the court. It assumed serious magnitude due to the indifferent attitude that the Maratha sardars had adopted towards Sindhia and Holkar. Beharji Takpir, a Maratha sardar, reached there. He plundered Mewar villages on the way but at the lead taken by the young Prince Bhim Singh, the Sindhi soldiers attacked the Marathas and compelled them to flee. Like vultures, other ambitious chiefs were tempted to feed on its carcass and the condition of Mewar became highly deplorable. The see-saw struggle undermined the vitality of the state, demoralised her nobles and ruined her prosperity.

Again her ineffectiveness made the nobles adopt an independent outlook and Rawat Bhim Singh, Rawat Arjun Singh¹ headed them. The Marathas, nearly five thousand, taking advantage of the civil strife, entered Mewar and encamped at Koshithal. They planned to collect a huge plunder from there. The Maharana could not tolerate it. He also sent a force three thousand strong, under Rawat Pratap Singh and Rawat Dheerat Singh. A battle was fought between the two forces at Koshithal,² in which the Marathas were repulsed and pursued to their camp. Mewar mourned the death of Pancholi Behari Mal and some twenty-five sardars and the invaders also sustained heavy losses.³

1 They were the heads of the Chundawat clan.

2 D.O.A.B. From Rawat Bhim Singh to Maharaja Sawai Pratibha Singh, dated *Muzsar Badi* 6, 1831 V.S. (24.11.1774), Arziat Section, Bundle No. 16.

3 D.O.A.B. From Rawat Bhim Singh to Maharaja Sawai Pratibha Singh dated *Muzsar Badi* 15, 1831 V.S. (17.12.1774), Arziat Section, Bundle No. 16.

The Maratha outposts were removed but they assembled at Pur¹. They realised that with a small force it was impossible to terrorize Mewar and so gave up the pursuit.

A minority rule has always been a troublesome period in Rajputana. Hamir Singh was a minor and so every sardar of note acted indifferently. So the mother-regent, to make an end to such a chaos, entrusted affairs to Muhakam Singh of Bhinder. This estranged Rawat Bhim Singh and Rawat Arjun Singh as it concentrated the whole power in the Saktawuts, their arch enemy. The confusion was increased when Megh Singh of Begun, supporter of Ratan Singh, seized some Parganas of the state and began administering them. For the mother-regent there was no way out excepting to extend an invitation to Mahadji Sindhia. Mahadji hurried to Begun and besieged it². The siege dragged on for six months. Sindhia was very hard pressed by the prolonged offensive and he resorted to diplomatic tactics. Taking advantage of the rift between Megh Singh and his son Pratap Singh he won the latter to his side. For Megh Singh the desertion was like defeat but to save his face from disgrace he opened negotiations for peace. These were hard times for Ummed Singh, the Maharao of Kota, as he had married at Begun in 1827 V S³ and wanted to save it. But it would have been most imprudent to send help to Begun against Sindhia. So he could not render any help. Megh Singh agreed to pay Rs 9,63,001 as war indemnity⁴. But he did not possess this amount. Sindhia would not retire without the money being paid to him. At this time Zalim Singh came to the rescue and advanced him 5 lakhs of rupees which were paid to Sindhia and for the rest thirty-six villages of Singoli and eighteen villages of Bhichore were transferred to Sindhia for rupees 69,302 out of which six thousand were kept apart for charity⁵. It was specifically laid down that the money after

1 An ancient town situated about 72 miles north east of Udaipur city.

2 Shyamal Das, *op cit* pp 1623-94.

3 A O K Bhander No 5 Baste No 11 Samvat 1826 (1779). Begun is about 90 miles east of north east of Udaipur city.

4 Out of this amount Rs 9,00,000 as Naxarana and war expenses to Sindhia and Rs 63,000 to Mewar.

5 D O A B : 1111 Subedar Mahadji Sindhia to Rawat Megh Singh, dated Chaitra Hindi 12, 1822 V S (23 3 1775).

meeting out the maintenance expenditure for these villages would be adjusted against the ducs of Sindhia and when this was recovered Sindhia would hand over the Parganas to Megh Singh.¹ Sindhia also got possession of 48 villages in lieu of Rs 43,100² against the payment which he had to realise from Begun in accordance with the treaty of 1828 V.S (1771)³

Sindhia had been invited by the mother-regent to help her but he hastened the disintegration of her territories. Further extortionate demands by Holkar, who was assigned only the district of Morvan by Sindhia,⁴ added to the woes of Mewar. Ahalayabai⁵ could not conceive of Sindhia usurping so much of the land.

Ahalayabai's knowledge of the pitiable condition of Mewar made her make peremptory demands. She began to press for an equal share in the spoils. But Ahalayabai had forgotten that Sindhia got the Parganas for services rendered, while she had nothing to her credit. Even though the demand was illegal, Mewar had to cede Nimbahera⁶ to her. Big tracts of Mewar were thus parcelled out to the Marathas who were not prepared to give up their ill-gotten gains without resort to arms. The feelings of antagonism were so deeply manifested that the Rajputs took every opportunity to re possess the land whenever the Marathas appeared weak.

The loss of Nimbahera was followed by attack on Mewar by Beharji Takpir and Ambaji Ingha.⁷ This time they came neither to settle succession disputes nor frantical wars but to realise the arrears. They did not deem it necessary to ask for

1 *Ibid*

2 *Ibid*

3 *Ibid*

4 Tod *op cit* I, p 344

5 The astute and intelligent wife of Bhande Rao Holkar and mother of Mali Rao. She became the mother regent after the death of Malhar Rao Holkar.

6 Ojha Udaipur *op cit*, p 980 *V Vinod*, V 2, p 1039. Nimbahera is situated 16 miles north west of Neemuch.

7 He was the commander and political adviser of Mahadji Sindhia and later on of Daulat Rao Sindhia.

the consent of Sindhia¹ The Marathas had ceased to be a federate body and every leader tried to serve his interests alone They were helped by the factions and divided loyalties in Mewar

Beharji Takpir and Ambaji ravaged the country² They encamped at Rajnagar and plundered it,³ and then proceeded towards Chittor en route to Banera and Lambia⁴ They realised a sum of Rs 3,201 from Banera⁵ Rawat Bhim Singh shut himself up and invited the forces of Banera to help him⁶ Several skirmishes took place between the two in which the Marathas were defeated But in the absence of the desired force Rawat Bhim Singh could not prolong defiance The Maharana agreed to assign the Parganas of Jat and Khuri from Rampura to them⁷ But such a small cessation could not satisfy them They again commenced their depredations⁸ The Maharana invited Mahadji Sindhia to help him Sindhia was also disgusted with the behaviour of his sardars and so requested Lajji Ballal to rush to Mewar and crush the Maratha rebels He despatched Pandit Ram Rao Sadashiv to Bijay Singh asking him to crush Beharji Takpir and Ambaji Ingla⁹ Bijay Singh made an immediate compliance to his request¹⁰ The Maharana sent Gumani Ram

1 D O A B : Dastari records, Baste No 6, letter No 33 dated Chaitra Sudi 15, 1832 V S (15 4 1775) From Madho Rao to Maharaja Bijay Singh

2 D O A B : Jodhpur records Arzi Bahi No 4, Folio 26 B dated Baisakh Sudi 8 1832 V S (8 5 1775) From Maharaja Bijay Singh to Subedar Mahadji Sindhia

3 Banera : From Akhay Singh to Raja Hamir Singh dated Chaitra Sudi 7, 1831 V S (7 4 1775)

4 Banera, Bahi of Samvat 1831, dated Baisakh Sudi 15, 1831 V S (15 5 1775)

5 Banera : Account book of Samvat 1831, dated Asadh Sudi 1, 1831 V S (28 6 1775)

6 Banera : From Rawat Bhim Singh to Raja Hamir Singh, dated Kartik Sudi 11, 1832, V S (20 10 1775)

7 Mehta Sangram Singh's Collections : Account Book of the year 1826 to 1837 V S

8 Banera : From Bhim Singh of Bhakpura to Raja Hamir Singh, dated Phalgun Sudi 9, 1832 V S (27 2 1776)

9 D O A B : Hakikas Bahi No. 2 Folio 62 B, dated Magh Sudi 11 1832 V S. (31 1 1776)

10 D O A B : Jodhpur records Arzi Bahi No. 4, dated Jyesth Sudi 4 1832 V S (16 5 1775), From Maharaja Bijay Singh to Mahadji Sindhia.

to Jodhpur to bring the forces under Sukh Ram¹ Mahadji also sent his forces to Nath-dwara² Kota forces were also sent³ It included eight European gun men with a cavalry and artillery They encamped at Mandana, Ratekote, Lawas, Singoli, Phelod, Bhichore Tukria, Hamurgarh, Dodhia, Bamna, Mio and Rajsamad Lalji was joined by many Sardars on his way to Mewar Bundi forces also joined him at Singoli⁴ Some Sardars from Mandelgarh also joined the camp of the Maharana⁵ A battle was fought at Rajsamad which completely shattered the forces of the invaders Lalji persuaded Beharji to accompany him to Ujjain, for reconciling him to Sindhia As a mark of victory 25 'Saropas' were sent to Sindhia from Kota

The inroads of the Marathas created a wave of dissatisfaction among the Rajputs and no reliance could be put on them⁶ The Marathas played the usual game of rousing the feudatories of Rana against the sovereign authority under the pretence of treating them as independent of the authority of the Rana They were successful in the case of Shahpoora for sometime, and next attempted to win over Raja Hamir Singh and persuaded him to declare himself independent of the Rana's authority⁷

At this time the death of the Peshwa on November 18, 1772 relieved Mewar for a time from Maratha incursions The Marathas were busy in the civil war which ultimately resulted

1 D O A B Jodhpur records Hakikat Bahi No 2, Folio 79 B, dated Magh Budi 8 1831 V S (25 1 1775)

2 D O A B Dastari records Basta No 6, letter No 33, dated Chaitra Sudi 15 1832, V S (15 4 1775) From Mahadji Sindhia to Maharaja Bujay Singh

3 A O K Bhandar No 1, Basta No 60, Do Varkhi Parchazat Samvat 1832 V S

4 D O A B Jodhpur records, Hakikat Bahi No 2, Folio 78 A, dated Posh Budi 2, 1831 V S (20 12 1774)

5 A O K Bhandar No 1 Basta No 60, Do Varkhi Parchazat Samvat 1831 32 (1775-76)

6 Banera From Rawat Bhun Singh to Raja Hamir Singh, dated Ashwin Budi 10, 1833 V S (7 10 1776)

7 Banera From Rawat Bhun Singh to Raja Hamir Singh, dated Magar Budi 2 1833 V S (27 11 1776)

in the first Maratha war. It engrossed their attention till May, 1782 when it was concluded by the treaty of Salbye. The Maharana was highly dissatisfied with the activities of the Marathas so much so that when the Marathas were fighting against the English the Maharana remained neutral.

When the Marathas were engaged in these affairs Mewar had some good luck. With the death of Hamir Singh on June 6, 1778, his brother Bhim Singh ascended the throne. The regency continued as before but by this time most of the sardars thinking Ratan Singh's cause to be a sinking one had given it up. This brought about a temporary truce between the Chundawuts and the supporters of Ratan Singh.¹ Mewar appeared to be strong enough to oppose the Marathas. The Chundawuts under Rawat Bhim Singh dominated the inner councils of the Maharana. So complete was this control that the mother-regent could not get any money even to celebrate her son's birthday. So she took the Saktawuts into her confidence. The appointment of a Saktawut Minister was a signal for the Chundawuts to leave for their feudal estates. Mohkam Singh of Bhinder was persuaded to support the Saktawut cause against the Chundawuts.

The politics of Mewar was bedevilled by many bones of contention and the two Maratha chiefs, Sindhia and Holkar, were also working at cross purposes. There were scenes of disunity both among the Rajputs and Marathas and so none of them could capitalise upon the misfortunes of the other.

1 D.O.A.B. : From Rawat Bhim Singh to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh dated Jaisth Badi 3, 1834, V.S. (30.4.1782), Arzbat Section.

Chapter 4

Ascendancy of Sindhia in Mewar (1782-92)

Mahadji left Rajputana in 1776 as he was forced to intervene in the contest for the Peshwaship at Poona. The murder of Narayan Rao by his uncle Raghu Nath Rao, popularly called Raghoba, let loose the forces of disintegration. Raghunath Rao took refuge with the East India Company. Mahadji was engaged with the Company for supremacy till it was decided by the treaty of Salbye in 1782.

Though the treaty assured Sindhia of a free hand in the North,¹ yet he could not implement it fully. His poor finances and the rise of enemies in northern India engaged his attention for the next two years. Ultimately, the Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam II, appointed him "Wakil-i-Mutlaq", the regent plenipotentiary, on December 4, 1784. This new office was hailed by Sindhia but it added another set of difficulties. He had to find resources not only for his clamouring army but for the bankrupt Mughal king too. He, therefore, turned his attention towards Rajputana whose Rajas had deferred payments due to him.

The internal struggle between the Chundawuts and Sah-tawuts was annoying to Mahadji because his agents could not collect the dues from that state. So Krishna Ganpat Rao,

¹ Sardesai: *New History*, op. cit. II, 119-20

the Kamavishdar, was replaced by Lalji Ballal¹ For running the administration efficiently, Mahadji asked Mehta Agar Chand and Rawat Bhim Singh, the Chundawat chiefs, to act in concert with Lalji² As instructed by Mahadji, Lalji and Zalim Singh came to Mewar but no agreement could be reached The return of the Marathas would have been detrimental to the interests of Mewar So the Maharana deputed Shah Somji, Purohit Manji and Bhawan Singh to meet them at Nathdwara Here an agreement was signed in 1787 The Maharana agreed to pay Rs 9,50,000³ It included the 'Khandani' of the Peshwa amounting to a lakh and a half,⁴ payable with the first instalment The amount of 8 lakhs was to be balanced against the heads of army expenses (Fauj Kharch), 'Nazrana' (Presents) and 'Mutsadi expenditure' (office expenditure) five lakhs were taken as 'Fauj Kharch', 2 lakhs as 'Nazrana' and 1 lakh as 'Mutsadi expenditure' The mode and time of payment was also decided upon as follows —

- (a) Rs 3,50,000 on Bhadra Sudi 15, 1844 V S (27 9 1787)
out of which Rs 2,00,000 in cash and land worth Rs 1,50,000 for the 'Khandani' of the Peshwa
- (b) Rs 2,00,000 on Asadh Sudi 15, 1844 V S (18 7 1788)
- (c) Rs 1,00,000 on Kartik Sudi 15, 1845 V S (13 11 1788)
- (d) Rs 1,00,000 on Chaitra Sudi 15, 1845 V S (9 4 1789)
- (e) Rs 1,00,000 on Asadh Sudi 15, 1845 V S (7 7 1789)
- (f) Rs 35 000 on Kartik Sudi 15, 1846 V S (2 11 1789)
- (g) Rs 33 000 on Chaitra Sudi 15, 1846 V S (30 3 1790)
- (h) Rs 34,000 on Asadh Sudi 15, 1846 V S (26 6 1790)

Mahadji agreed to establish peace in Mewar⁵ He addressed

1 (a) Sitamow : Gulgule records Zild No 6, letter No 12

(b) Parasnis, *op cit* Vol 1, letter No 189

2 Sitamow Gulgule records Zild No 6, letter No 2

3 Agreement Between Mewar and the Marathas, Chaitra Sudi 4 1843 V S

4 (a) Sitamow : Gulgule records Zild No 6 letter Nos 11 and 1 39

(b) South Patrika March 1937 (2014 V S) Part 8, Vol III Bhaskar Ramchandra,

5 *Ibid*

a letter to Rawat Bhim Singh asking him to desist from his activities and advising him to remain loyal to the Maharana.¹ But the instructions of Mahadji carried no weight. As he was at war with the Kachwahas, Mewar continued to be embroiled in the factious struggle. At last, the Saktawuts took the administration in their hands.

Mahadji Sindhia had suffered heavy reverses at the hands of the Kachwahas and Rathors in the battle of Tunga. His defeat inspired the Rajputs to throw off the yoke of the Marathas. Som Chand Gandhi² conveyed his feelings to Gyan Mal Muhonot of Jodhpur and the latter assured him of his help.³ Letters were also addressed to Jaipur suggesting the joint operations by the Kachwahas,⁴ Rathors⁵ and Sisodias to drive away the Marathas from Mewar. Kachwahas, who were in high spirits, gave a favourable response to it. It was decided to seek the co-operation of the Chundawuts, Kota, Shahpura and Banera forces. Rawat Bhim Singh was approached through Maharani Ram Pyari Bai, the regent-queen.⁶ Daulat Ram from Jaipur asked him and Rawat Arjun Singh to co-operate with the forces of the Maharana.⁷ Rawat Bhim Singh accompanied by Pratap Singh of Amast and Arjun Singh of Korabur, reached Udaipur,⁸ and stayed at Krishna Vilas, a few miles from the city.⁹ The forces of Banera under Hamir Singh also joined the Maharana.¹⁰

1 D O A B From Subedar Madhav Rao Sindhia to Rawat Bhim Singh, dated Asadh Budi 8 1843 V S (19 6 1786), Kharita Section, G B

2 The Saktawut leader and the Minister of Maharana Bhim Singh.

3 D O A B From Gyan Mal Muhonot to Som Chand Gandhi, dated Second Bhadra Budi 13, 1844 V S (14 9 1787)

4 D O A B From Rawat Gokul Das to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated 1844 V S (1787 58), Arziat Section, Bundle No 16, Arzi No 166

5 D O A B Jodhpur records, Hakikat Bahi No. 4, Folio 425 A, dated Magh Budi 4, 1844, V S (26 1 1788)

6 Banera From Rawat Bhim Singh to Raja Hamir Singh, dated Baisakh Budi 9 1843 V S (12 4 1787)

7 D O A B From Daulat Ram to Rawat Bhim Singh and Rawat Arjun Singh dated Jyesth Budi 1, 1844 V S (23 5 1787), Kapat-dwara No 242

8 D O A B Copy of letter to Malook Chand, dated Asadh Budi 9, 1844 V S (10 6 1787)

9 Ojha Udaipur op cit p 965

10 Banera From Raja Hamir Singh to Raja Bhim Singh of Shahpura, dated Baisakh Suli 5 1843 V S (22 4 1787)

Mohkam Singh was sent to Kota to bring forces from there. Zalim Singh accepted the offer. It could serve his purpose of dominating the affairs of Mewar and crush the Chundawuts at the same time. He joined the Maharana with six hundred Hadas¹. The arrival of Zalim Singh, the sworn enemy of the Chundawuts, was highly resented by them². Zalim Singh, on his arrival, found that efforts had succeeded in bringing the two factions together³. He, therefore, did not stay there and left for Kota, leaving his forces to help Mohkam Singh⁴.

The return of Zalim Singh and the stay of forces made the Chundawuts suspicious of Maharana's bona-fides⁵. As such, the Chundawuts left Mewar⁶. As soon as it was brought to the knowledge of the mother-regent, she hastened to placate the Chundawuts and brought them back into the fold⁷. In the meanwhile, a contingent of 200 men also arrived from Shah-pura in response to the call from the Maharana⁸. The neighbouring Rajputs also joined.

They had a handy excuse for an armed showdown with the Marathas. Mewar wanted to regain her territory which she had made over to the Marathas previously. In the year 1780 an agreement had been signed with the Marathas wherein it was laid down that the mortgaged land would be restored to Mewar after seven years and the Marathas

1 A O K. Bhandar No 1, Basts No 60, Do Varkhi Parchazat, Saravat 1843 44 (1787 88)

2 (a) Banera : From Rawat Bhim Singh and Arjun Singh to Raja Hamir Singh, dated Baisakh Budi 10 1843 V S (13 4 1787)

(b) D O A B : Copy of letter to Malook Chard, dated Anadh Budi 9, 1844 V S (10 6 1787),

3 *Ibid*

4 Shyamal Das, *op cit* pp 1708-09

5 D O A B : From Rawat Bhim Singh to Khawas Roda Ram, dated Maghar Sudhi 12 1844 V S (21 12 1787) Draft Kharita, Bundle No 19, Draft No 47

6 *Ibid*

7 Ojha Udaipur, *op cit*, p 956

8 Banera : From Rawat Bhim Singh and Arjun Singh to Raja Hamir Singh, dated Baisakh Budi 10, 1843 V S (13 4 1787)

would retain land of the annual rental value of 4½ lakhs only ¹ The period was fast ending and so the Maharana asked Mahadji and Ahalaybar to execute it. But the Marathas refused to abide by it. The Rajputs were prepared to risk a war for regaining it.

In the work of recovery Jaipur also offered to co operate in expelling the Marathas from Mewar ² It was planned that the forces of Mewar and Kota would face the enemy, while the Chundawuts would defend the capital against any possible attack of the Marathas ³ In the meantime, Mewar had realised that the Chundawuts were not trustworthy and might as of old betray the cause. Therefore, Upadhaya Manroop and Pancholi Gumani Ram were deputed to seek more aid from Kota, ⁴ in case of a Chundawut betrayal. Kota forces, numbering nearly two thousand, joined the Saktawuts ⁵ Zalim Singh did not turn up but gave the command to Sheolal and Paher Singh Payagya ⁶ The arrival of Kota forces was again highly resented by the Chundawuts. An unsuccessful attempt was made by Sawai Pratap Singh to appease them ⁷ But the Chundawuts left the city. The defence was then entrusted to a Kota contingent ⁸ The Mewar forces under Maldas and Surtan Singh pro-

1 Mehta Sangram Singh's Collection, Udaipur

2 D O A B From Maharana Bhim Singh to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Ashoj Sudi 8, 1844 V S (19 10 1787), Kharita Section, Udaipur Bundle

3 D O A B From Rawat Bhim Singh to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Phalgun Budi 7, 1844 V S (28 2 1788), Arziat Section, Bundle No 16

4 D O A B From Rawat Bhim Singh to Daulat Ram, dated Megser Sudi 1 1844 V S (10 12 1787), Draft Kharita, Bundle No 19

5 D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharana Bhim Singh, dated Phalgun Sudi 8 1844 V S (15 3 1788), Kharita Section, Udaipur Bundle

6 A O K Bhandar No 1, Besta No 67, Do Varkhi Parchazat, Samvat 1844 V S (1787 88)

7 D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharana Bhim Singh, dated Phalgun Sudi 8, 1844 V S (15 3 1788), Kharita Section Udaipur Bundle

8 D O A B From Rawat Bhim Singh to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Phalgun Budi 7, 1844 V S (28 2 1788), Arziat Section, Bundle No 16

ceeded towards Jawad to attack the Marathas¹. After a stiff resistance they captured Nimbahera, Nakump and halted at Jiran². In spite of the specific instructions of the Maharana *they in a frenzy to oust the Marathas completely from Mewar*, marched to Jawad. The Marathas had by this time also mustered a force 10,000 strong under Nana Sada Shiv Rao³. Here a resistance was put up by them, but at last had to succumb to the attack of the Mewar forces. Jawad was possessed by them⁴.

The occupation of Nimbahera made Ahalayabai despatch her forces to help Nana Sada Shiv Rao⁵. The advancing forces under Mehta Maldas and Surtan Singh were met by the Maratha forces near Harkiyakhal,⁶ where they had fixed up up some of their guns along with the Pindaris⁷. A furious battle ensued in which the Rajputs were taken by surprise. Their warriors were either killed or lay wounded, notable among the slain were Mehta Maldas and Jamatdar Panju⁸. The remainder retreated to Jawad. The Marathas once again assembled at Jawad and besieged it. Mewar forces under Deep Chand, the nephew of Agar Chand, faced the enemy for a month but eventually even Jawad surrendered to the enemy⁹. The

1 *Ibid*

2 D O A B : From Mohkam Singh to Daulat Ram, dated Magh Budi 1, 1844 V S (8 2 1788) Draft Kharita Bundle No 19

3 D O A B : From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharana Bhim Singh, dated Phalgun Sudi 8, 1844 V S (15 3 1785), Kharita Section, Udaipur Bundle

4 V A O I : Foreign Political and Secret Consultation, Feb 15 1788, No 1 From W. Palmer to GG

5 Ojha, Udaipur . op cit, pp 287-88

6 D O A B : From Rawat Bhim Singh to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Phalgun Budi 7, 1844 V S (28 2 1788), Arziat Section, Bundle No 16 *Gakhlot* I, p. 271

7 They were a sort of loose unpaid militia allied to the Marathas employed by them in the plunder. They rose again into prominence in the early years of the 19th century with their headquarters in the Narmada valley and Malwa.

8 Ojha Udaipur . op cit p 284.

9 D O A B : From Rawat Bhim Singh to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Phalgun Budi 7, 1844 V S (28 2 1788) Arziat Section Bundle No 16

Pindaris increased the agony by plundering Mewar. The Maharana attempted to call in the Chundawuts once again. They were so repulsive to the idea of Kota forces being present there that they refused to join hands.¹

The aggressive designs of the Rajputs brought about unity among the Marathas and Mewar was forced to hand over her fertile plains to them. What had been recognised as a temporary occupation by way of compensation was turned into a hereditary possession by virtue of right. These principalities² now onwards came to be regarded as Maratha possessions.

The Marathas also sowed the seeds of perpetual antagonism between the Chundawuts and Saktawuts. In the annals of Mewar it was the last attempt to mobilise the rival clans for a common cause. The defeat was taken by the Chundawuts as a great humiliation caused by the impolicy of the Saktawut leader, Som Chand Gandhi, who was guided by the Hadas. Their presence was most distasteful to them. So they devoted their energies to oust them from the inner councils of the Maharana. This could not be achieved so long as Som Chand was living.³

Rawat Bhim Singh requested Sawai Pratap Singh to smooth out their differences with the Maharana and make the Kota forces quit Udaipur.⁴ When he could get no response from Jaipur, he called in Tukoji Holkar, who was present in Rajputana at that time. He was sent by the Peshwa to help Mahadji Sindhia against the combined forces of the Kachwahs and Rathors. The traditional rivalry between the two made Tukoji proceed towards Mewar instead of joining Sindhia at Macheri. An understanding was reached with Tukoji and the Chundawuts assured him of the regular payment of his dues in future.⁵ Tukoji

1 *Ibid*

2 Nimbahera, Nakump, Jiran and Jawad

3 D O A B From Rawat Bhim Singh to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Phalgun Badi 7, 1844 V S (23 2 1789), Arziat Section, Bundle No 16

4 *Ibid*

5 D O A B From Rawat Bhim Singh to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh dated Maghar Sadi 12, 1846 V S (20 11 1789), Arziat Section, Bundle No 16

supported the Chundawuts as he could thus counteract the growing influence of Sindhia in Mewar and realise his dues too. The Jodhpur ruler stood guarantee for the payment from the Chundawuts. The Maharana was very much unhappy by this act of the Chundawuts. To save Mewar from a joint attack of Holkar and the Chundawuts, the Maharana invited Rawat Bhim Singh. It was decided that no Hada would be invited to Mewar without his consent. The Kota forces left Mewar in utter disgust. The expulsion of the Hadas resulted in the subjugation of the Saktawuts. The Chundawuts promised to serve the Maharana and recapture the land from the Saktawuts.¹

Naturally, the Saktawuts now revolted. Som Chand Gandhi disturbed the peace of Mewar. Rawat Bhim Singh made many representations to the Maharana for asking him to restore peace in the Raj² but he did not pay any heed to it. Mewar was again embroiled in the dissensions of her own children. They decided to test their supremacy by force of arms. Two decisive battles were fought at Akola and Khyroda, the former resulting in favour of the Saktawuts, the latter in their utter defeat.³ Agriculture and commerce were now at a standstill.

Being foiled in his attempt to swing the issue in his favour, Som Chand resorted to all conceived means and planned to deceive the Chundawuts. It recoiled on his own head and the Chundawuts got him murdered.⁴ They had the audacity to appear before the Rana with their daggers dipped in blood.⁵ The Maharana believed the complicity of the Chundawuts in his murder. So their position as guards at the royal palace was entrusted to the Saktawuts.⁶ Sati Das, the brother of the

1 *Ibid*

2 DO A 11 From Rawat Bhim Singh to Khawas Roda Ram dated Pushkadi 6, 1846 V S (8 12 1789), Draft Kharita, Bundle No 20

3 *Tol*, *op cit* I, 302

4 DO A 11 From Rawat Bhim Singh to Khawas Roda Ram dated Pushkadi 10, 1846 V S (27 12 1789) Draft Kharita, Bundle No 20 *ibid*, I p 271

5 Opha, Udaipur *op cit*, pp 255-52

6 DO A 11 From Rawat Bhim Singh to Maharaja Nawab Pratap Singh dated Magsaradi 12, 1846 V S (29 11 1789) Arziat section Bundle No 16.

late Some Chand became the head. The Chundawuts left Mewar, proceeded towards Taragarh and finally got possession of Chittor.¹ This was a source of danger and so the Maharana decided to oust them from there. Sati Das's urge to avenge the murder of his brother, made him seek reconciliation with Mohkam Singh.

Mohkam Singh met the Maharana and decided to invite Zalim Singh and Mahadji for expelling the Chundawuts.² Sheo Das and Mauji Ram were deputed to meet Zalim Singh. Zalim Singh accepted the offer, for he could crush the Chundawuts and gain the confidence of Mahadji. He also agreed to bring Mahadji Sindhua with him.³ Sindhua was at Pushkar celebrating the spring festival.⁴ Zalim Singh accompanied by Ambaji Ingha,⁵ met Mahadji and promised him 60 lakhs⁶ as the price for ousting the Chundawuts from Chittor.⁷ The offer was accepted by him as he was anxious to consolidate his power in Rajputana. His forces under Ambaji accompanied Zalim Singh. The Chundawuts impressed upon Sawai Pratap Singh⁸

1 D O A B From Rawat Bhim Singh to Khawas Roda Ram dated Posh Sudi 10, 1846 V S (27 12 1799), Draft Kharita, Bundle No 20

2 Ibid

3 D O A B From Zalim Singh to Mehta Agar Chand, dated Ashoj Sudi 12 1847 V S (19 10 1790)

4 Sardesai, *New History*, op. cit., III, 221

5 The commander as well as the political adviser of Mahadji Sindhua and later on of Daulat Rao Sindhua.

6 Ojha maintains that Zalim Singh made Sindhua agree to oust the Chundawuts first from Mewar and then to impose a fine of sixty four lakhs on them out of which forty-eight lakhs were to be handed over to Sindhua while the rest sixteen lakhs to be credited to the treasury of Maharana for the loss Mewar had to suffer on account of the activities of the Chundawuts. This is unsupported by the historical evidence wherein a sum of Rs 60 lakhs has been clearly mentioned.

7 D O A B From Rawat Bhim Singh to Khushali Ram, dated Kartik Budi 14, 1848 V S (26 10 1791) Draft Kharita, Bundle No 21

8 (a) D O A B From Rawat Bhim Singh to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh dated Kartik Budi 6, 1848 V S (18 10 1791), Arziat Section, Bundle No. 17

(b) D O A B From Rawat Arjun Singh to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh dated Kartik Budi 12 1848 V S (9 11 1791), Arziat Section, Bundle No 17

and Maharaja Bijay Singh¹ the importance of the fort for their existence and asked for help. They in vain awaited for it.

Zahim Singh and Ambaji in the meantime, invested Hamirgarh which was ably defended by Dhirat Singh, a close associate and adviser of Rawat Bhim Singh. When it showed no signs of capitulation, it was bombarded and captured. Basar² met a similar fate and the forces encamped at Sathu, near Chittor³. As Ambaji had been facing great difficulty to capture the fort, so he requested Mahadji to come there in person. He reached Nathdwara during the third week of August 1791⁴. Mahadji now realised the gravity of the task he had undertaken by taking Mewar under protection. So he was eager to meet the Maharana. It was arranged by Zahim Singh at Nahar Magra on September 5, 1791⁵. The Maharana received him cordially and he reciprocated it by escorting the Rana to the city. Mahadji felt flattered at the meeting, for it was a unique privilege to a low born Maratha to be treated as an equal of the Rana. Mahadji agreed to quell the disturbances in Mewar and reconcile the Chundawuts to him. Mahadji besieged Chittor. His activities were closely watched by Rawat Bhim Singh. Unable to defend Chittor for long, he opened negotiations for a peaceful settlement. He made it explicit that Zahim Singh should be no more in Mewar. Zahim Singh, scenting the wind of change, left Udaipur at the end of October 1791. Maharana was opposed to treating the Chundawuts sympathetically. But as Mewar was weak and Mahadji was urgently required at Poona so he patched up their differences. He ordered the disaffected nobles

1 D O A B. Dastari records. Basta No. 3 file No. 3 letter No. 9 dated Kartik Budi 6, 1848 V S (18 10 1791). From Rawat Bhim Singh to Jodhpur Maharaja.

2 47 miles north-east of Udaipur city.

3 (a) D O A B. From Rawat Bhim Singh to Khushali Ram dated Kartik Budi 4, 1848 V S (18 10 1791), Draft Kharita, Bundle No. 21.

(b) D O A B. From Rawat Bhim Singh to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh dated Baukhi Budi 6, 1848 V S (12 4 1792), Arziat section Bundle No. 17.

4 Raghunath Singh *op cit* p. 211.

5 (a) D O A B. : Jodhpur records, Arzi Baki No. 4 Folio 46B & 49A, dated Posh Budi 10, 1848 V S (20 12 1791). From Maharaja Bijay Singh to Mahadji Sindhia.

(b) Khace G H, Hingoo Daftar II 226 27.

(c) Patasani *op cit* II, 32.

to render obedience to the Maharana¹ The fort of Chittor was vacated on November 17, 1791² The war indemnity of twelve lakhs was imposed on the Chundawuts half of which was to be paid by Salumber in two equal instalments—the first falling due within a fortnight and another in a month³ The other half was to be paid by the rest of the Chundawuts

Mahadji then initiated a move for settling the Maratha dues from Mewar A sum of Rs 20 lakhs was agreed upon The Maharana agreed to pay it in two equal instalments, in the years 1791-92 (1848 V S) and 1792-93 (1849 V S) respectively⁴ The sum to be realised from each "Patanta" was laid down It was agreed that Mewar forces would help in its collection

Mahadji soon realised that it was not enough to reconcile the Chundawuts to the Maharana It was necessary to make some arrangement for the administration too as the Maharana was incapable of governing his state He left Ambaji Ingha as his representative to rule the country in the name of the Maharana and realise the Maratha dues as agreed upon Ten thousand Deccani soldiers were kept under his command Mahadji instructed him to establish the hold of the Maharana on the land which the Sindhi mercenaries had got possession of He also asked him to drive away Ratan Singh from Kumbhalgarh and recover Godwad from Jodhpur⁵ Mahadji left Mewar on January 5, 1792 on his way to Poona

Instead of uniting to obliterate all traces of Maratha dominance from their soil the Rajputs imported a fresh lease of life to the waning influence of the Marathas by seeking their intervention to subdue their clannish rivalries

1 (a) PRC Vol I letter 275, pp 381-82, dated September 20, 1791
From W Palmer to GG

(b) DO & B From Raja Ram Bittahal of Chittor to Khushali Ram, Daulat Ram, dated Maghar Badi 1, 1848 V S (11.11.1791) Draft
Kharita Bundle No 21

2 DO & B From Rawat Bhim Singh to Shah Raghav Das dated Maghar Badi 9 1848 V S (20.11.1791) Khatut Ahalkaran, Bundle No. 14

3 DO & B From Rawat Bhim Singh to Ferozhat Onkar, dated Maghar Badi 14 1848 V S (24.11.1791) Khatut Ahalkaran, Bundle No 14

4 DO & B Copy of Agreement between Mewar and Marathas, dated Posh Badi 8, 1848 V S (18.12.1791) Ikrarnama Bundle

5 Shyamal Das, *op cit* p 1716

Chapter 5

Jaipur and Jodhpur Fight the Marathas (1778-91)

Sawai Pratap Singh succeeded his brother Prithvi Singh in 1778. Khushali Ram Bohra managed the administration successfully. In 1779 the Emperor marched to Jaipur. Khushali Ram avoided hostility by agreeing to pay twelve lakhs of rupees. Soon after Khushali Ram was thrown out of power, the Jaipur government stopped payment. An imperial army was sent to realise tribute but it failed. The Emperor then appointed Mahadji Sindhia as *Wakil-i-Mutluq*. He invaded Jaipur to realise the dues of the Emperor as well as to collect the Maratha tribute. A battle was fought at Tunga in July, 1787. It was indecisive. Mahadji retreated from Jaipur.

He was opposed by the two Muslim chiefs Ismail Beg and Ghulam Qadir. After suppressing them he fought against the forces of Jaipur and Jodhpur at Patan and Merta in 1790. He once again made the Rajputs pay tribute.

The disintegration of the Jaipur Raj commenced with the death of Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh on March 3, 1788¹. This continued throughout the inconclusive reign of his eldest son Sawai Prithvi Singh, as we have seen. When discord and disunity prevailed in the Kachwahas, the death of the ruler accelerated the chaos. His brother, Sawai Pratap Singh, ascended the

1 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, III, 230

throne in 1778 A D. His neglect of administration resulted in a struggle between the powerful sardars—Khushali Ram Bohra, Daulat Ram and Khushali Ram Haldia, for the position of first servant of the state.

If the Kachwaha state was absorbed in internal strifes the condition of the Marathas was also not better. Mahadji Sindhia retired to Poona by the middle of 1776 where a constant contest was being waged for the Peshwaship. He could not give his attention to Rajputana. His absence was utilised by Mirza Najaf Khan,¹ the powerful new agent of the Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam II, to establish the Mughal hold on the territories which had slipped from its grip.²

Najaf Khan ordered his lieutenant Malibub Ali then to realise the dues of Jaipur tribute, which Himmat Bahadur³ had failed to collect even after a stay of a year.⁴ Khushali Ram Bohra, who was released from the jail, in vain attempted to appease him. War preparations went ahead on both sides. Fortune favoured Jaipur and the Khan's army broke up for want of money. Himmat Bahadur was once again entrusted with the onerous job of collecting it. Khushali Ram reached an agreement with Himmat Bahadur on April 28, 1781. He was given the 'Mahala' yielding Rs. 12 lakhs a year, one half of which was to be remitted to Najaf Khan and the rest to be spent on the forces kept for collection.⁵ Himmat Bahadur realised Rs. 75,000 and sent it to Najaf Khan. At this time Daulat Ram Haldia returned to Jaipur and was installed as Bakshi.⁶ These events were responsible for the subsequent bitterness between the Marathas and Rajputs.

All this time Rao Raja Pratap Singh formed successive

1 Mirza Najaf Khan was an adventurer from Persia. He held the regency of Delhi from November 1779 to April 1782.

2 Raghbir Singh *op. cit.* p. 196.

3 He was Najaf Khan's principal adviser and agent in dealing with the Hindu Princes.

4 Sarkar *op. cit.* III, 146.

5 *Itanawar : Munshikabab Akbar (Muz.), folio 221 B, dated April 28, 1781.*

6 Sarkar *op. cit.* III 227.

plans for being the guardian of the infant Man Singh,¹ son of Sawai Prithvi Singh, whose claims for the 'gadi' were set aside by his uncle, Sawai Pratap Singh. Rao Raja aimed at dominating the affairs of both the states.² The boy was kept at Kishanagarh, his maternal grand-father's house, for purposes of safety.³ He persuaded Mahadji to support him. Mahadji accepted it as he himself aimed at encircling Jaipur as a base for his operations against the Rajputs. For the moment, Mahadji was engaged in serious problems at Poona and so could not give his whole attention.

During this time, the first Anglo-Maratha war continued. The Governor-General emphasised the need for peace with the Marathas,⁴ because of the successive defeats of the Company's troops at their hands and of the danger from Hyder Ali and later on Tipu Sultan of Mysore. The war had severely taxed the resources of Mahadji. He was also not reluctant to accept the offer of peace. Anderson, on behalf of Warren Hastings, the Governor-General, started deliberations with Mahadji and signed the treaty of Salbye on May 17, 1782.

It solved the conflict between Raghunath Rao and the Poona Government and established the ascendancy of the house of Sindhia against his rivals.⁵ Not only this but Sindhia came to be regarded as the peace maker between the Company and Poona Government.⁶ Besides this honour, Mahadji also obtained freedom for the management of imperial affairs. It was the greatest advantage that Mahadji scored against the British for it opened up new vistas for him to establish his influence in the North and Rajputana.⁷ There were not a few British diplomats who vehemently opposed Governor-General's policy in regard to Mahadji. But Warren Hastings wanted to maintain good relations with him at all cost.⁸

1 Parasnis, *Dalid Yethid Marathyancho Rajkarna*, letter No. 1 dated Dec. 10, 1784.

2 Jaipur & Alwar States.

3 *Ibid.* letter No. 133 dated Dec. 10, 1784.

4 Dalwell, *Letters of Warren Hastings*, p. 117.

5 Malleson, *op. cit.* pp. 142-43.

6 Sardesai, *New History*, , *op. cit.*, III, 120-24.

7 Malleson, *see* John, *The Political History of India from 1764 to 1803* (2 Vols., London: John Murray, 1926), Vol. I pp. 187-8.

8 Sardesai, *see* above from *State Papers, 1772-1782*, Vol. III pp. 1007-08.

The death of Najaf Khan on April 6, 1782 and the treaty of Salbye left Mahadji attend to the affairs of the Emperor. But before he could do this he had to brush aside his arch enemy, Mohammad Beg Hamdani¹. In 1783, when Mirza Mohammad Shafi² started negotiations with Mahadji, Hamdani got him murdered on September 23, 1783³. Similarly, when Afrasiab Khan⁴ arranged for a meeting between the Emperor and Sindhia,⁵ Hamdani also got him murdered on November 3, 1784. This time the whole Mughal Court was in anger and requested Mahadji to punish him. The Emperor invited him to come and set his house in order. Mahadji attained complete success on November 10, 1784. The Emperor then conferred upon him the office of Wakil-i-Mutluq on December 1, 1784, the highest executive office combining the powers of both Wazir and Mir Bakshi⁶. This again made him much superior against his rival Tukoji. But even more important than this was that Mahadji had achieved it due to his own statesmanship and the Poona Government was relegated to the background.

Mahadji had taken upon himself a great responsibility without funds. By the close of 1784, he had incurred a debt of Rs. 80 lakhs⁷. The arrears of tribute were not forthcoming from Jaipur. In addition to this, he had to realise the dues of the Mughal Emperor too. He felt that his Vakils could not manage affairs at Jaipur and that he had to proceed personally to realise the dues.

Having made preparations, Mahadji made an attack on

- 1 The most sinister figure among Mirza Najaf's captains
- 2 Mir Bakshi and the Supreme Regent. He was also the Subedar of Agra
- 3 Sarkar *op cit* III, 185
- 4 Mir Bakshi of the Empire after the murder of Mirza Mohammad Shafi. He was by birth a Hindu grocer's boy. Mirza Najaf had captured him as an orphan, converted to Islam and made him his favourite slave. Najaf Khan had recommended him to the Emperor as his successor in office and master of his troops and gifts.
- 5 D O A B. Dastari Records Bundle No. 9 file No. 4, letter No. 23, dated Kartik Badi 2 1841 V S (30.9.1784). From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh.
- 6 Parasmani *op cit* letter No. 106 dated July 1, 1785, and letter No. 139 dated August 1, 1785.
- 7 Sardesai *New History, op cit* III, 147

Mahewa Ramgarh on the Jaipur frontier¹ It was captured on December 18, 1784 The Kachwahas, finding themselves unable to bear the brunt of attack, initiated peace offers Bohra Khushali Ram was deputed for it² It was decided that the Jaipur Darbar would pay two lakhs in cash and two lakhs in Jewels immediately, 10 lakhs by cessation of territory and seven lakhs imposed on the vassal nobles³ This being achieved, Sindhia proceeded on his return journey towards Deeg⁴ Throughout the year reminders constantly poured in the Kachwaha capital for immediate payment⁵ To avoid an attack Sawai Pratap Singh sent Raja Sanjay Singh to him⁶ and promised to offer hundis worth two lakhs⁷ He kept his

- 1 (a) D O A B From Mehta Swaroop Singh of Bikaner to Roda Ram dated Magh Budi 3, 1841 V S (29 12 1784)
(b) D O A B From Mehta Rai Sahib Singh to Roda Ram, dated Chaitra Sudi 12 1842 V S (21 4 1785)
- 2 D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Raja Manik Pal, dated Jaisath Budi 5, 1842 V S (28 5 1785) Draft Kharita Section, Bundle No 18
- 3 Sardesai, *Historical Papers*, op cit, No 358, dated March 1785
- 4 (a) D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Raja Balwant Singh dated Phalgun Budi Amavash 1841 V S (9 2 1785) Draft Kharita B No 18
(b) It is 22 miles west of Mathura
- 5 (a) D O A B From Subedar Mahadji Sindhia to Bohra Khushali Ram, dated Baisakh Budi 12, 1842 V S (5 5 1785), Draft Kharita Bundle No 18
(b) D O A B Subedar Mahadji Sindhia to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh dated Bhadra Budi 2, 1842 V S (22 8 1785) Draft Kharita Bundle No 18
(c) D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Amolik Paulji dated Jaisath Budi 5 1842 V S (28 5 1785), Draft Kharita Bundle No 18
(d) D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Saingarji, dated Jaisath Budi 5, 1842 V S (28 5 1785), Draft Kharita Bundle No 18
(e) D O A B From Subedar Mahadji Sindhia to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Kartik Budi 10 1842 V S (27 10 1785) Kharita Section G B
- 6 D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Raja Balwant Singh dated Magar Sudi 2 1842 V S (4 12 1785) Kharita Bundle No 18
- 7 D O A B From Subedar Mahadji Sindhia to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Bhadra Budi 4 1842 V S (7 9 1785) Draft Kharita Bundle No 18

promise but incensed hostility to Mahadji by asking him to vacate his posts and delaying the payment in kind¹ Sanjay Singh was closely followed by Bakshi Mitha Lal and Khushali Ram² But all proved futile Mahadji was now convinced that without a show of arms nothing could be secured from the Kachwaha kingdom

Mahadji, after the capture of Aligarh in November, 1785, proceeded to Jaipur once again³ To give an air of legality to his cause, Sindhia included the Emperor in his camp⁴ The designs of Sindhia made Sawai Pratap Singh depute Bohra Khushali Ram⁵ to settle affairs amicably⁶ The negotiations having failed Sindhia resumed his march He reached Urdain and halted there He made his army proceed in advance to Sanganer⁷ Maharaja Gaj Singh offered to mediate, assuring Roda Ram of his willing support in case of grave necessity⁸

- 1 D O A B From Roda Ram to Mchta Rai Sahib Singh, dated Magsar Sudi 5, 1842 V S (6 12 1785)
- 2 D O A B From Bakshi Mitha Lal to Khushaliram, dated Jaisath Sudi 10, 1842 V S (7 6 1786)
- 3 D O A B Dastari Records Bundle No 1, File No 1, letter No 1, dated Chaitra Sudi 7, 1842 V S (5 4 1786) From Ajmer to Maharaja Bijay Singh
- 4 (a) D O A B From Maharaja Manik Palji to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Magsar Sudi 4, 1842 V S (5 12 1785), Draft Kharita, Bundle No 18
(b) Banera From Pancholi Guman Ram to Raja Hamir Singh, dated Magsar Sudi 10, 1842 V S (11 12 1785)
- 5 D O A B From Muhonot Gyan Mal to Khawas Roda Ram, dated Posh Sudi 5, 1842 V S (5 1 1786) Khatut Ahalkaran, Bundle No 14, Khat No 51
- 6 (a) D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Raja Hari Singh, dated Phalgun Budi 13, 1842 V S (26 2 1786) Draft Kharita Bundle No 18
(b) Banera From Shah Narain Das to Bhandari Bhopat Ram, dated Chaitra Budi 13 1842 V S (28 3 1786)
- 7 D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Raja Hari Singh, dated Phalgun Budi 13 1842 V S (26 2 1786), Draft Kharita, Bundle No 18
- 8 D O A B From Bakshi Alam Chand to Roda Ram, dated Chaitra Sudi 12 1842 V S (10 4 1786) Khatut Ahalkaran, Bundle No 14

Though Sindhua reached Jaipur yet he again invited Khushali Ram and Roda Ram for a settlement¹. The Maharaja wanted to act in close concert with Bijay Singh. He requested him to instruct Naval Rai to accompany the Jaipur envoys². Meanwhile Sawai Pratap Singh began assembling an army³.

The negotiations were complicated, on the one hand, by the double dealing of the Naruka chief, Rao Raja Pratap Singh, who espoused the cause of Man Singh⁴ and, on the other hand, by the stiff attitude that the Jaipur envoys adopted towards getting the land vacated by Pratap Singh Naruka and Najaf Quli Khan⁵. As Mahadji was in a peaceful frame of mind, so it was agreed between the two that the Kachwaha Raja would pay Rs 63 lakhs⁶—60 lakhs as '*Peshkash*' and 3 lakhs as '*Darbar charges*'. Out of this 11 lakhs were to be paid within a month, 4 lakhs to be paid on his leaving the state, 4 lakhs after 4 months, another two lakhs were to be set apart for deducting the amount already collected by the imperial forces during their recent occupation. In another 21 lakhs the Parganas of Tomo, Pauto, Ujirpur, Salabad and Shikhawati were handed over⁷. Another 21 lakhs were made good by

1 D O A B : From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh, dated Baisakh Badi 12, 1843 V S (25.4.1786), Kharita Section, Jodhpur Bundle No. 381.

2 *Ibid*.

3 D O A B : From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh, dated Magh Badi 14, 1842 V S (29.1.1786), Kharita Section, Jodhpur Bundle, Kharita No. 378.

4 Man Singh was the son of Sawai Prithvi Singh. He lived at Bindra ban where he enjoyed a Jagir granted by Mahadji Sindhua.

5 N A O I : F & S, June 23, 1786 cons. No. 32. From G. Harper to G.O. dated May 26, 1786.

6 (a) D O A B : Yad-dast Kalyan Rao Pandit, Baisakh Badi 5, 1843 V S (20.4.1786).

Eleven lakhs were to be made in this manner—cash 7 lakhs, jewels 3 lakhs and elephants, horses, etc., worth one lakh. Sarkar agrees to the total amount of 63 lakhs but differs in the mode of payment. Vol. III, p. 243.

(b) N A O I : F & S, April 24, 1786 cons. No. 21. B. From G. Harper to G.O.

7 D O A B : Yad-dast Kalyan Rao Pandit, Baisakh Badi 5, 1843 V S (20.4.1786).

assignments¹ All ceded territory was to be jointly administered and evacuated by the Marathas after the payment Having made this agreement, Bohra Khushali Ram paid 3 lakhs on the spot and took leave for Jaipur to collect another 8 lakhs for clearing the first instalment

Bohra now became all powerful and extracted money forcibly He paid the first instalment which made Mahadji begin his return Journey on June 4, 1786 towards Mathura² The Emperor also marched towards Deeg³ Mahadji left five thousand horses under Raju Patel to enforce the terms of the agreement⁴ Najaf Quli Khan and Rao Raja Pratap Singh were to help him But the slackness of the former and the treachery of the latter made Sawai Pratap Singh delay the payment The Kachwaha king as early as May 1786 made an unsuccessful attempt to win over the English to his side against the Marathas⁵ Mahadji's suspicion of Pratap Singh's aggressive attitude was confirmed when pro-Maratha Minister Khushali Ram Bohra was deposed Daulat Ram Haldia who opposed the Maratha penetration into Jaipur was again invited to form the Ministry Raja Sanjay Singh constantly reminded the Kachwaha king of the serious consequences in case of non-compliance⁶ In another letter he clearly foresaw the possibility of an armed invasion.⁷ He asked the Maharaja to send four lakhs earlier to appease Sindhia as he intended proceeding towards Jaipur very

1 *Ibid*

2 N A O I Persian Section, TR 26, pp 161-62, No 71, received June 21, 1786 From Ali Ibrahim Khan to GG

As Sawai Pratap Singh's preparations for a showdown with Mahadji were not complete at the moment, so he purchased Mahadji's withdrawal by promising 63 lakhs and paying only 11 lakhs as the first instalment

3 Sarkar *op cit*, III 243

4 Parasani Dohla, *op cit*, Vol I, letter No 169, dated August 21, 1786

5 (a) N A O I F & S June 23, 1786, Cons. No 30 From G Harper to GG dated May 26, 1786

(b) Sardesai *Historical Papers*, *op cit*, letter No 415, dated May 1786

6 D O A B From Raja Sanjay Singh to Pahar Singh, dated Magh Sudi 7, 1843 V S (26 I 1787), Draft Kharita Bundle No 19, Draft No 50/4

7 D O A B From Raja Sanjay Singh to Khawas Rode Ram dated Magh Sudi 9, 1843 V S (27 I 1787), Draft Kharita, Bundle No 19

shortly¹ But neither the threats of Sindhia nor the warnings of Sanjay Singh, made the Maharaja think in conciliatory terms Sindhia now thought of invading Jaipur

The Maharaja openly devised measures to resist Sindhia He successfully persuaded Kishori Das and Amolik Palji, the Rajas of Seopur² and Karauli³ respectively, to despatch their forces Sawai Pratap Singh also won over Bijay Singh to his side⁴ He advised the Kachwaha Raja to seek the support of the disaffected nobles of Jaipur too Acting upon his advice he won over the Shekhaot leader of Manoharpur He swore upon 'beal-loaf' to serve the Maharaja on a payment of 7 lakhs of rupees⁵ Shekhaot Devi Singh agreed to throw in his weight

1 D O A B : Dastari records, Bundle No 1 File No 1 letter No 2, dated Magh Sudi 15, 1843 V S (22 1787) From Ajmer to Maharaja Bijay Singh

2 D O A B : From Raja Kishori Das to Vidya Guru Bhattji, dated Phalgun Budi 13, 1843 V S (16 2 1787)

3 D O A B : From Amolik Palji to Vidya Guru Bhattji, dated Phalgun Budi 4 1843 V S (6 2 1787)

4 D O A B : From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh, dated Posh Sudi 2, 1843 V S (22 12 1786) Jodhpur Khyat, 3, p 425

The estranged relations between Bijay Singh and Mahadji made the matters more amicable. The anglo-Maratha rivalry of 1781 and Bijay Singh's overtures with the Company made Mahadji doubt his intentions. Again in 1784, the Rathor Chief supported the Sektawuts while Mahadji was favouring the cause of the Chundawats. Thus a rupture between the two was beyond any doubt. On the other hand, Bijay Singh had entered into cordial relations with the Jaipur Durbar, after the death of Ram Singh in 1772. Bijay Singh had offered his help to Sawai Pratap Singh against Pratap Singh Naruka of Macheri who dreamed to create a territorial sovereignty for himself independent of the Jaipur Durbar. Bijay Singh had cemented this friendship by giving his grand-daughter in marriage to Sawai Pratap Singh in August, 1785. As such Bijay Singh was easily won over by the Jaipur Durbar.

5 (a) D O A B : Dastari records, Bundle No 2 File No 4 letter No 28 dated Posh Sudi 12 1843 V S (11 1787) From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh.

(b) Beal loaf is taken as the symbol of the God Shiva. It is the purest kind of swearing.

on the side of Jaipur¹ if the Raja paid the expenses of his army.² Attempts were also made to win over Mohammad Beg Hamdani from the Maratha camp.³ Raja Bahadur Gopal Das promised to help the Kachwaha Raja.⁴ Rawat Bhim Singh of Udaipur also favoured the Kachwaha cause.⁵ Rao Raja Bishan Singh of Bundi also sent his forces under Roda Singh Rathor and Gordhan Dass to help Sawai Pratap Singh.⁶ The Kachwaha vassals were asked to cease payment of tribute payable to Sindhia. The Jaipur Raja braced himself to withstand the siege.⁷ Sindhia now became convinced of the necessity of resorting to armed action, to enforce payment. He planned an early invasion.⁸

Sindhia, leaving Brindaban,⁹ in November 1786, proceeded towards Mewat to subdue the rebels¹⁰ and then advanced to Deeg with a view to intimidating the Rajputs and making the chiefs subservient to Raju Patel.¹¹ Raju Patel, who had been to Moja-

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- 1 D O A B From Gordhan Dass to Khawas Roda Ram, dated Magh Sudi 14 1842 V S (12 2 1787), No 27/3
 - 2 D O A B Dastari Records, Bundi No 9, File No 4, letter No 32, dated Phalgun Budi Amavash, 1843 V S (18 2 1787) From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh
 - 3 *Ibid*
 - 4 D O A B From Raja Bahadur Gopal Dass to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh dated Posh Sudi 5, 1843 V S (25 12 1786) Draft Kharita, Bundle No 19
 - 5 D O A B From Rawat Bhim Singh to Roda Ram, dated Chaitra Sudi 14 1843 V S (1 4 1787) Draft Kharita, Bundle No 19
 - 6 D O A B From Rao Raja Bishan Singh to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh dated Maghar Sudi 11 1844 V S (20 12 1787) Draft Kharita, Bundle No 11
 - 7 D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Amolik Palji, dated Baisakh Budi 7, 1844 V S (10 4 1787), Draft Kharita Bundle No 19
 - 8 D O A B From Sanjay Singh to Khawas Roda Ram dated Magh Sudi 9, 1843 V S (27 1 1787) Draft Kharita, Bundle No 19
 - 9 Sardesai *Historical Papers*, *op cit*, letter No 459 dated Nov. 24 1786
 - 10 D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Muzer Ganga Ram, dated Magh Budi 3, 1843 V S (6 1 1787), Draft Kharita, Bundle No 19
 - 11 N A O I Foreign Political & Secret, Cons No 2, dated March 23, 1787 From W Kirkpatrick to GG dated March 3, 1787.

vadi to demand payment,¹ sustained some reverses.² He was further harassed by the attitude of Mughalia troops³ in his service. They were scandalously ill paid and so inclined to join the enemy.⁴ Therefore, Raji Patel impressed upon Sindhia to undertake the supervision of Jaipur affairs.⁵ So Sindhia marched towards Jaipur.⁶ Sawai Pratap Singh was all the time busy assembling his forces.⁷ There were ten thousand Rathors ready to join the Kachwahs at Sambhar,⁸ whenever the latter should take the field. Sindhia, learning all these designs, proceeded from Deeg on March 16, 1787 and reached Daosa.⁹

Seeing Sindhia's preparations, every Rajput of note advised Sawai Pratap Singh to make an amicable settlement as it was not feasible to unleash a conflict at that time.¹⁰ Negotiations were opened through Shobha Chand.¹¹ The Jaipur envoys only offered a meagre sum of 12 lakhs of rupees.¹² This was nothing short of defiance. Rana Khan¹³ and Raji Patel¹⁴ advised Sindhia

1 D O A B : From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Ganga Ram, dated Magh Budi 3, 1843 V S (6 1 1787), Draft Kharita, Bundle No 19.

2 D O A B : From Amolik Palji to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Chaitra Sudi 5 1843 V S (7 3 1787), Draft Kharita, Bundle No 19.

3 The Muslim troops under Mohammad Beg Hamdani, Zulfikar Khan, Mansur Khan, etc.

4 P R C : Vol I, No 82, pp 137 dated March 3, 1787.

5 P R C : Vol I No 83, pp 148-49, dated March 22, 1787.

6 Sindhia reached Daosa on March 6, 1787. P R C, Vol I, Nos 71 and 80.

7 N A O I : Foreign Secret and Political Cons. No 1, dated April 20 1787. From W. Kirkpatrick to G G, dated April 6, 1787.

8 (a) Parasani Delhi Yethil, op cit, Vol I, letter No 201, dated April 1787; Jodhpur Khayat 3, p 425.

(b) 150 kos south of Jaipur.

9 32 miles east of Jaipur.

Sindhia was convinced that the reason forwarded by the Jodhpur Vakil Parohit Javraj that the forces have been deputed at Sambhar because of the unhappy relations between Kachwahs and Ajmer and that any untoward event may not occur was untrue, made Sindhia proceed from Deeg. Jodhpur Khayat 3 p 426.

10 D O A B : From Mitha Lal to Fahir Singh, dated Baisakh Badi 9 1844 V S (12 4 1787).

11 P R C : Vol I No 102 p 167 dated April 11 1787.

12 N A O I : F & S Cons. No. 1, dated April 18 1787. From G. Harper to G G, dated April 10, 1787.

13 He was responsible for saving the life of Mahadji after the rout of Jaipur.

14 Jodhpur Khayat 3, p 427.

to accept it and retire from Jaipur as the enemy was too strong. On the other hand, Khushali Ram Bohra and Rao Raja Pratap Singh asked him not to do so.¹ Rao Raja thought that Sindhia would compensate the loss by annexing his territories and so advised likewise. Sindhia was in a fix. Sawai Pratap Singh, sensing his ventures culminating in success, became more stiff. He evinced a strong desire to bring the matters to a head.² To add insult to injury, the Kachwaha deputies departed from the camp of Sindhia without obtaining the formal leave.³ Sindhia now had no alternative but to fight.⁴ He ordered Mohammad Beg Hamdani to check the collusion of the Kachwahs with the Rathor forces.⁵ Ambaji Inglia was also summoned from Karnal.⁶ Sindhia himself proceeded towards Bhaneri⁷ to relieve Raju Patel and put pressure upon the Kachwaha Raja to accept his terms.⁸ Sindhia imagined that by his personal appearance at Jaipur he would be able to impose his terms upon the Raja. But he miscalculated his own strength. The Kachwaha king did not move out of his fort. Mahadji, with diplomatic generosity, made the virtue of necessity and pleaded for a renewal of negotiations.⁹ Peace proposals were made through Sewajee Ethul Rao. Sawai Pratap Singh demanded that Rao Raja be forsaken and Sindhia countermanded that the former should defray the expenses of this expedition.¹⁰ The negotiations broke off abruptly. Sindhia decided to fight.

The Kachwahs and Mahadji began to hunt for allies. The

1 *Parasnis op cit*, Vol I letter No. 201, dated April, 1787

2 N A O I Foreign Sec & Pol, Cons No 5, May 9, 1787 From G Forster to GG, dated April 27, 1787

3 N A O I Foreign Sec & Pol Cons No 14A, May 23, 1787 From W Kirkpatrick to GG, dated May 11, 1787

4 N A O I Foreign Sec & Pol, Cons No 3, April 20, 1787 From G Harper to GG dated April 12, 1787

5 N A O I Foreign Sec & Pol, Cons No 14A, May 23, 1787 From W Kirkpatrick to GG, dated May 11, 1787

6 *Ibid* He was sent to the Punjab to encounter an incursion of the Sikhs to the northward of Sindhia's capital

7 Thirteen miles east of Sanghaner Railway station

8 PRC Vol I No 104 pp 168-69, dated April 15, 1787

9 PRC, Vol I No 105 p 170, dated April 10 1787.

10 N A O I Foreign Sec & Pol, Cons No 22, Sept 4, 1787, From W Kirkpatrick to GG, dated June 30, 1787.

Jaipur and Jodhpur Darbars had already decided to pool their resources¹ Sawai Pratap Singh informed him that the Marathas were fast approaching and there was a possibility of the outbreak of hostilities² He informed him that he would leave Jaipur on Jaisath Budi 2, 1844 V S³ (4 5 1787) and requested him to send his forces under Bhim Raj⁴ Bijay Singh asked him to make arrangements for such sums as might see them through the conflict⁵ and wait for the arrival of Bhim Raj⁶ But Sawai Pratap Singh left his capital under an auspicious star and stayed at Sangaur,⁷ awaiting the arrival of Bhim Raj⁸ Bhim Raj, with 10,000 fighting men, joined the Kachwaha camp⁹

The problem of winning over Mohammad Beg Hamdani

- 1 (a) D O A B Dastari records, Basta No 9, File No 4, letter No 44, dated Asadh Sudi 14, 1844 V S (27 6 1787) From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh
- (b) D O A B Dastari records, Basta No 9, file No 1, letter No 4, dated Baisakh Sudi 5 1844 V S (22 4 1787) From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh
- (c) Conscription was ordered by Bijay Singh in Marwar. P H C, Vol 1, 49
- 2 D O A B Dastari records, Basta No 9, file No 4, letter No 36, dated Chaitra Sudi 12, 1844 V S (30 3 1787) From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh
- 3 D O A B Dastari Records, Basta No 9, File No 4, letter No 38, dated Baisakh Budi 10, 1844 V S (13 4 1787) From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh
- 4 D O A B Dastari Records, Basta No 9, file No 4, letter No 39, dated Jaisath Budi 2, 1844 V S (4 5 1787) From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh
- 5 D O A B : Dastari Records, Basta No 9 File No 4, letter No 30, dated Phalgun Budi Annavadi 1843 V S (18 2 1787) From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh
- 6 D O A B : From Maharaja Bijay Singh to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh dated Jaisath Budi 10, 1844 V S (12 5 1787) Khaz Rukhs No 278
- 7 D O A B : Dastari Records Basta No 9, File No 4 letter No 40, dated Jaisath Budi 3, 1844 V S (5 5 1787) From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh
- 8 D O A B : Dastari Records, Basta No 9 file No 4 letter No 41 dated Jaisath Budi 9 1844 V S (11 5 1787) From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh.
- 9 D O A B : From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh dated Asadh Budi 2, 1844 V S (6 6 1787). Draft khazana Bundle No 19 Ojha, Jodhpur 2.

had already been undertaken. Hamdani's agents were given assurances of good faith as early as Phalgun Budi Amavashi 1843 V S¹ (18.2.1787). Hamdani arrived near the Rajput camp on the 23rd of May, 1787,² and was received in a very honourable manner by Sawai Pratap Singh. He was formally invested with the command of all the Mohammadan troops.³ Even before this, small parties had been leaving the Maratha camp and on the 6th May, two Mughal chiefs, namely, Zulfekar Khan and Mansur Khan went over to the Rajputs. The Rathor army was paraded before Mohammad Beg Hamdani and was found most disciplined and well-equipped.⁴

The situation in Mahadji's camp became worse day by day. His starving soldiers demanded their pay. Sindhia made an attempt of making his wife security for the payment but even that offer was not accepted by them.

Sindhia's forces began to flee. A full battalion 7,000 strong abandoned Sindhia and joined the Rajputs.⁵ Sindhia suspected the treacherous designs of the Hindustani troops who on the day of battle might turn their guns against him. He also came to know that his convoy of provisions had been mobilised by the Rajputs. Sindhia was completely cut off from his base as Roda Ram Khawas and Daya Bhai blocked the approach roads from the side of Ranthambore and Khushalgarh respectively.

- 1 D O A B. From Dastari Records, Basta No. 3, File No. 4, letter No. 31 dated Phalgun Budi Amavashi 1843 V S (18.2.1787). From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh.
- 2 N A O I. F & S June 11, 1787. Cons. No. 3, Letter from W. Kirkpatrick to GG. dated May 28, 1787, F R C 1, 114. Hamdani was promised Rs. 3,000 a day to be equally contributed by Jaipur & Todhpur. Agra & Deeg were to be restored to him if he drives Sindhia beyond the river Narmada. Jodhpur Khayat 3, p. 427.
- 3 N A O I. Foreign Pol. & Sec., June 11, 1787, Cons. No. 4. From W. Kirkpatrick to GG., dated May 30, 1787.
- 4 D O A B. Dastari Records, Basta No. 3, File No. 1, letter No. 5, dated Asadh Budi 13, 1844 V S (13.6.1787). From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh.
- 5 D O A B. From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Manik Palji dated 1st Shrawan Budi 11 1844 V S (11.7.1787). Draft Khurda Bundle No. 19, Draft No. 252.

Mahadji was not wanting in gaining support and he sent his men to Kota. Lala Bhola Nath was sent with some forces¹. Again Pandit Lalji and Joshi Dev Karan were deputed with a small force to join Mahadji². Sindhia deemed it unsafe to remain in the vicinity of the Rajput camp. So he proceeded to Sawlia, 20 miles to the west of Lalsot, where he would be able to engage the Rajputs with greater advantage³. Rajji Patel was also asked to join⁴. The withdrawal of the Marathas was followed by the advance of the Rajput forces⁵. Sawai Pratap Singh requested Bijay Singh to join earlier⁶. Sindhia captured Jhalai,⁷ and Navai⁸. He collected some provisions and levied a contribution of Rs 50,000 on the inhabitants⁹. He then moved southwards and encamped at Tonk¹⁰. But this made the Rajputs cut off his communications with Deeg and Agra. Sawai Pratap Singh followed him at a cautious distance. Sindhia was impatient to engage the Rajputs, so he on the 29th of May marched towards Lalsot¹¹. He arrived at Pipalai, 15 miles south-east of Lalsot. Sindhia from here could have an easy

1 A O K : Bhandar No 1, Basta No 66, File No 22, Do Varkhu Par chazat Samvat 1843 (July 1787 to August 1788)

2 *Ibid*

3 N A O I : Foreign Sec & Pol, May 17 1787, Cons No 3 From W Kirkpatrick to GG, dated May 3, 1787

4 D O A B : From Chaturbhuj to Maharaja Bijay Singh, dated Asadh Budi 7, 1844 V S (22 6 1787)

5 D O A B : Dastari Records, Basta No 9, File No 4, letter No 43, dated Asadh Budi 5, 1844 V S (6 6 1787) From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh

6 D O A B : Dastari Records Basta No 1, File No 1, letter No 5, dated Asadh Budi 12 1844 V S (13 6 1787) From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh

7 (a) N A O I : Foreign Pol & Sec May 23, 1787, Cons. No 14 A. From W Kirkpatrick to GG, dated May 11, 1787

(b) Seven miles from Sawlia

8 N A O I : Foreign Pol & Sec May 30, 1787 Cons. No 8 From G Forster to GG, dated May 19 1787

9 N A O I : Foreign Pol & Sec June 6, 1787, Cons No 12 From W Kirkpatrick to GG dated May 23, 1787

10 *Ibid* 23 km from Jaipur

11 (a) N A O I : Foreign Pol & Sec June 11 1787, Cons. No 5 From W Kirkpatrick to GG, dated June 1, 1787 Jodhpur Hkayat 3, p 422

(b) Thirty miles south east of Jaipur

access to the passes leading into the Agra District Rajputs followed suit, advanced from Sanganer and reached Madhogarh, 17 miles north-west of Lalsot. From there the Rajputs proceeded to Daosa to attack Sindhia's rear. Sindhia also made a move of about two kos in that direction and encamped near Surajpur.¹ Sindhia now realised the gravity of the situation and the tremendous work of suppressing the Rajputs he had undertaken. Divergent counsels split the Maratha camp. Rao Raja Pratap Singh advocated a bold and surprise attack while others opposed it. Sindhia himself preferred protracting the issue when for want of money his enemies might disperse. He also knew that the Rajput forces, chiefly comprised of peasantry, would retire in August.² The interval he utilised in awaiting the arrival of Ambaji Ingha and Apa Khande Hari. They both arrived by the end of July, 1787.³

Mahadji now decided for a pitched battle. Sawai Pratap Singh marched towards Lalsot with Daulat Rao Haldia attending him.⁴ The Rathors suffered much from Sindhia's artillery and so Daulat Rao was ordered to send Hamdani's forces to the Rathors. Sindhia's ferocity abated for some time. Hamdani was struck by a cannon-ball and died.⁵ The troops ignorant of their leader's death pushed forward and repulsed the Maratha right wing. Hamdani's son, Mudjey Ali, was installed in his place.⁶ A truce of two days was agreed upon to perform the

1 (a) P R C Vol I letter No. 20, dated June 17, 1787, p 197

(b) Four Kos from Lalsot

2 N A O I Foreign Pol & Sec, May 17, 1787, Cons No 3 From W Kirkpatrick to GG dated May 3, 1787

3 N A O I Foreign Pol & Sec, dated Aug 28, 1787 From W Kirkpatrick to GG dated July 25, 1787

4 Khande Rao arrived on June 26th and Ambaji reached in July, 1787 P R C I, letter Nos 118-119

Sindhia was waiting for his generals to join him. When they joined Sindhia he was in high spirits to take the issue to the battle field. Pratap Singh also waited for more help from Bundi, Bikanor, etc. The arrival of the Maratha Generals in Sindhia's camp prompted him for an early action.

5 D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Raja Manik Pal dated Second Shrawan Budi 11, 1844 V S (1181787), Draft Khariya, Bundle No 19 Draft No 252 Jodhpur Khariyat 3, p 437

6 N A O I Foreign Pol & Sec, Sept 4, 1787 Cons No 16 From G. Harper to GG, dated Aug 3, 1787

funeral rites of Hamdan. Again the two forces faced each other. Sawai Pratap Singh marched from his camp and was joined by the Rathors,¹ on first Shrawan Sudi 13, 1844 (28.7.1787). A battle ensued near the village of Soonar. The Marathas lost a number of valiant fighters—Shambaji Patel, Malhar Rao Panwar, and Chimaji Khanle Rao.² The distinguished sardar Ghazi Khan³ was killed. The casualties on the side of the Marathas and Rajputs numbered some 1,500 and 1,000 men respectively.⁴ Shobha Ram Bhandari was among the killed from the Rajput camp.⁵ The Rathors lost Shiv Singh Rathor,⁶ Sarup Singh Nahar,⁷ Devi Singh and Maha Singh.⁸ They captured two camps and 113 guns of the Marathas.⁹ The battle lasted till eight in the night.¹⁰

Mahadji Sindhiya seeing his losses ordered a retreat¹¹ towards

1 D O A B Dastoor Komwar, Vol IX, pp 677-82, Gahlot I, p 54, Jodhpur Khayat 3, p 430

2 D O A B Dastari Records, Dasta No 9, File No 4, letter No 49, dated Maghar Budi 5, 1844 V S (29.11.1787) From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh

3 (a) N A O I Foreign Pol & Sec Sept 4, 1787 cons No 16 From G Harper to GG dated Aug 3, 1787

(b) He was the son of Mustafa Khan who was formerly in service of the Subedar of Bengal

4 D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Manik Palji dated Second Shrawan Budi 11, 1844 V S (11.8.1787) Draft Kharita Bundle No 19 Draft No 232, CPC Vol VII 1501 gives Marathe casualty as 1000

5 Sarkar op cit III 266 P R C I, 135, 136, 137.

6 D O A B Hakikat Bahi No 4 folio 425A, dated Ashoj Budi 2, 1844 V S (29.9.1787)

7 D O A B : Hakikat Bahi No 4, folio 437A, dated Phalgun Budi 14, 1844 V S (6.3.1788)

8 D O A B Jodhpur Records, Hakikat Bahi No 4, folio 432B, dated Posh Budi 6 1844 V S (30.12.1787)

9 D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Manik Palji dated Second Shrawan Budi 3, 1844 V S (4.8.1787), Draft Kharita, Bundle No 19 Draft No 204

10 P R C I 135

11 (a) D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Pratap Singh of Bikaner dated Bhadra Budi 15, 1844 V S (27.9.1787) Draft Kharita Bundle No 19 Draft No 243

(b) D O A B From Tukoji Holkar to Daulat Ram dated Ashoj Budi 4 1844 V S (4.10.1787) Kharita Section, Indore Bundle Jodhpur Khayat 3 p. 439

Deeg on second Shrawan Budi 2, 1844 V S¹ (18 1787) Thus only he could save his family left at Deeg and help Lodoji² He left Lalsot with 5,000 cavalry, leaving behind Rana Khan to cover his retreat³ Mahadji proceeded ten kos towards Karauli and Dholpur but as the Marathas posted there had been ousted by the Rajputs, so Sindhia took a circuitous road towards Deeg Hereached Thun, 14 miles south west of Deeg on August 8, 1787, and sent his family to Gwalior under Ambaji

Sindhia on the 23rd of August disbanded his Hindustani troops for he could not trust them He, at the head of 13,000 men, proceeded towards Delhi for checking the advancing Rajput army and oust the new Mir Bakshi, Ghulam Qadir⁴ But as he had completely dominated the Emperor so Sindhia marched to Alwar to prepare himself for the future He stayed there for more than two months⁵ The Rao Raja showed him every consideration

The plight of Sindhia was a source of relief and merry-making in Rajputana⁶ Letters of congratulations in the name of Sawai Pratap Singh poured in from Shahpura,⁷ Karauli,⁸

1 D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Raja Manik Palji dated second Shrawan Budi 11, 1844 V S (11 8 1787), Draft Kharita, Bundle No 19, Draft No 235, Jodhpur Khayat 3, p 441, P R C I, 137, 155 C P C Vol VII 1572

2 He was the son in law of Mahadji and was acting at Delhi as his deputy

3 N A O I Foreign Pol & Sec Cons No 17, Sept 9, 1787 From G Harper to GG dated Aug 6 1787

4 Ghulam Qadir had taken possession of the city and the Emperor at the news of Sindhia's defeat at Lalsot He was appointed Mir Bakshi and Regent plenipotentiary in place of Sindhia

5 Sindhia reached Alwar on August 24, 1787 and was there up to Nov 2 1787

6 D O A B From Bhum Singh to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Phalgun Budi 7, 1844 V S (28 2 1788), Draft Kharita, Bundle No 19, Draft No 240

7 D O A B From Raja Bhum Singh to Daulat Ram, dated second Shrawan Budi 5 1844 V S (4 8 1787), Draft Kharita, Bundle No 19 Draft No 240

8 D O A B From Madan Mohan to Daulat Ram dated Posh Budi 2, 1844 V S (10 1 1788), Draft Kharita, Bundle No 19, Draft No 219

Bikaner,¹ Udaipur² and many other places³ Sawai Pratap Singh, to keep Holkar away from the contest, maintained cordial relations with him all the time⁴

Sawai Pratap Singh pursued Mahadji for a short distance but then gave it up⁵ He was satisfied that he had ousted the Marathas from his territory and avoided any engagement with them, if they did not harry his country or demand tribute⁶ The Maharaja took the road towards Manpura and imposed a fine of one lakh of rupees He then reached Ramgarh where he again extracted the same amount⁷ Then he proceeded to punish the Rao Raja who had been responsible for this expedi-

- 1 D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Pratap Singh dated Bhadra Sudi 15, 1844 V S (27.9.1787), Draft Kharita, Bundle No 19, Draft No 243
- 2 D O A B From Rawat Blum Singh to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Phalgun Budi 7, 1844 V S (28.2.1788)
- 3 (a) D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Musarr Bal Mukund dated Bhadra Budi 1, 1844, V S (29.8.1787) Draft Kharita, Bundle No 19, Draft No 372
(b) D O A B From Radhika Dea to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Phalgun Sudi 9, 1844 V S (16.3.1788)
- 4 D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Rao Tukoji Ho kar, dated Bhadra Sudi 11, 1844 V S (23.9.1787) Kharita Section, Indore Bundle.
- 5 (a) D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Blum Singh dated Second Shrawan budi 4, 1844 V S (17.8.1787) Draft Kharita, Bundle No 19, Draft No 233
(b) D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Bakht Singh dated Second Shrawan Budi Amavash, 1844 V S (13.8.1787) Draft Kharita Bundle No 19, Draft No 226
(c) Sawai Pratap Singh was basically interested in punishing the Rao Raja and to regain the territory which he had occupied. He was all the time less interested in ousting the Marathas completely from Rajputana. His lethargic aptitude was only in a small degree responsible for giving up the pursuit. Jodhpur Records, Portfolio No 9 Kharita No 45, dated bright half of Shrawana 1844 V S (16.7.1787)
- 6 P R C Vol F No 188, pp. 270-71 dated Dec 9 1787
- 7 D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Raja Manik Lalji, dated Second Shrawan Sudi 14, 1844 V S (27.8.1787) Draft Kharita Bundle No 19 Jodhpur Kharat 3 p 441 mentions that a lakh of rupees were levied on Balakheri. It is unsupported by any other primary source

tion Some astray forts were reduced. A siege was laid on Alwar itself but on the advice of Bijay Singh it was given up.¹ Infructuous attempts were made to win over Najaf Quli Khan who still sided with the Marathas

The Rathors also could not lag behind and Singhvi Dhanraj from Merta proceeded towards Ajmer to repossess it from the Marathas.² The Maratha forces took refuge in Taragarh (Ajmer) The Rathors besieged it Forces from Jalor and Nagor under Zorawar Mal and Mehta Rai Chand joined the Rathors.³ Maratha's commander, Sher Khan defended it well but asked for re-inforcements.⁴ So Ambaji Inglia with 8,000 forces was sent for help, but Rodoji Khawas successfully opposed him and made him retire with heavy losses The fort was ultimately occupied by Singhvi Dhanraj.⁵ Sawai Pratap Singh expressed happiness at the laurels gained by the Rathors.⁶ Sindhia's hold on Rajputana disappeared with it The last stronghold of Sindhia in this region had passed into the hands of his Rathor adversary Bijay Singh wrote to Tukoji Holkar that the land of Rajputana belongs to Rajputs alone The propriety of the Marathas lay only in befriending the Rajputs This was not the end of Mahadji's humiliations During this time the city of Agra

1 D O A B Dastari Records, Bundle No 9, file No 4, letter No 45, dated second Shrawan Sudi 2, 1844 V S (15 8 1787) From Maharaja Pratap Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh

2 P R C I, 175

3 Marwar Khayat Vol III pp 67 70

4 P R C I, 175

5 D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh dated Maghar Sudi 9, 1844 V S (19 12 1787), Draft Kharita, Bundle No 19 Draft No 206 Jodhpur Rajya ki Khayat 3, p 44 Ojha Jodhpur 2, p 738 P R C I 192 mentions that Sher Khan took poison to save his honour After his death only, the Rathors occupied it on December 24, 1787 Marwar Khayat, Vol III pp 69 70 mentions that Sher Khan accepted a bribe of Rs 20 000 and then surrendered

6 D O A B Dastari Records Bada No 9, File No 4 letter No 50, dated Maghar Sudi 10, 1844 V S (20 12 1787) From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh

(a) D O A B Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No 4, folio 6 A & B, dated Posh Budi 14 1844 V S (7 1 1788)

also fell into the hands of Mirza Ismail Beg¹

Mahadji was hard-pressed all this time and was on the look out for some allies. The emperor was also harassed by Ghulam Qadir. He called Mahadji² and met him at Rewari, but could not be won over by Mahadji. He now abandoned all field operations, crossed the Chambal,³ retired towards Gwalior and encamped on the south bank of the Kumari brook to prepare himself for the contest against the Rajputs.

The retirement of Mahadji emboldened the Rajas of Karauli and Narwar to discard their allegiance to the Marathas. They joined together, unsuccessfully, to efface the last traces of the Marathas, from their soil.⁴ Bijay Singh also tried to efface the last traces of Sindhiya's influence from Rajputana. He even wrote to the Peshwa through Tukoji of depriving Mahadji from the leadership of Maratha affairs in Rajputana.⁵

Bijay Singh also requested Tukoji to withhold his support to Mahadji.⁶ He also did not pay heed to the peace overtures of Mahadji⁷ and even unsuccessfully sought the help of the Company against Mahadji.⁸ Sawai Pratap Singh also planned to win over Shah Alam II to their side to drape their action in the mantle of legality. Bijay Singh was informed of the plan through

1 (a) D O A B. From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh, dated Kartik Sudi 3, 1844 V S (13.11.1787) Draft Kharita, Bundle No. 19, Draft No. 258.

(b) He was the nephew of Mohammad Beg Hamidani and represented the Mughal nobility at the court.

2 D O A B. From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Amar Singh, dated Maghar Sudi 14, 1844 V S (24.12.1787) Draft Kharita, Bundle No. 19, Draft No. 301.

3 D O A B. From Bhum Singh to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Phalgun Sudi 7, 1844 V S (28.2.1788) Draft Kharita, Bundle No. 19.

4 D O A B. From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Raja Hari Singh of Narwar, dated Magh Sudi 5, 1844 V S (12.2.1788) D K. Bundle No. 19, Draft No. 364.

5 D O A B. Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No. 4, folio 6 A & B, dated 14th day of the dark half of Posh 1844 V S (7.1.1788).

6 D O A B. Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No. 4, folio 8 A, dated Shrawan Sudi 5, 1844 V S (22.7.1788).

7 P R C I 212; Hakikat Bahi No. 4, p. 62; CPC Vol. viii, 617.

8 P R C I, 208, CPC Vol. ix, 161.

Tewari Sri Krishana¹ They agreed to serve the Emperor by stationing a force 10,000 strong, equally constituted by both of them² The Emperor who was very hard pressed reached Rewari on Posh Budi 12, 1844 V S (5 1 1788) to meet Sawai Pratap Singh³ Though a meeting took place on Magh Budi 13, 1844 V S (5 2 1788), yet nothing could come out of it⁴ The Emperor hoped to realise his dues and the Kachwaha Raja could not meet it

The retreat of Mahadji from Lalsot was a death blow to his aspirations of dominating Rajputana and the Mughal Empire alike In his hour of crisis he entreated the Poona government for help The intrigues at the Peshwa's court shelved the issue for sometime The idea of Sindhia being powerful in Hindustan served as a constant threat to the other Maratha potentates His repeated requests at last bore some fruits and Ali Bahadur⁵ and Tukoji Holkar were ordered to rush to his help on condition of sharing equally the territory north of the Chambal between Peshwa, Sindhia and Holkar⁶ Ali Bahadur started on September 8, 1787, but could join Sindhia only in October 1788 Tukoji met Sindhia on July 31, 1788 But the appearance of Tukoji weakened Sindhia's cause due to the activities of Himmat

1 D O A B Dastari Records Basta No 9, File No 4, letter No 50, dated Maghar Sudi 10, 1844 V S (30 12 1787) From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh

2 D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh, dated Posh Budi 6 1844 V S (30 12 1787), Draft Kharita, Bundle No 19, Draft No 217

3 D O A B From Raja Radhika Das to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Phalgun Sudi 9, 1844 V S (16 3 1788) Kharita Section, Jodhpur Abayat 3 p 451

4 D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Raja Hari Singh dated Magh Sudi 5 1844 V S (12 2 1787) D K Bundle No 19, Draft No 308

The emperor demanded Rs 5,000 a day as was paid by Mahadji Sindhia The Rajput Rajas were not in a position to meet it and hence a compromise could not be worked out The emperor returned to Delhi Rs two lakhs were paid to him in fake hundies Jodhpur Kharat 3 pp 452-53 Ojla Jodhpur 2 p 741

5 Ali Bahadur was the son of the late Peshwa Bajirao, by a Moham medan concubine

6 Duff op cit p 475

Bahadur¹ The breach between the two was further widened as Tukoji demanded an equal share in the spoils which, according to Mahadji, were more nominal than real²

This open rift between the two Maratha chiefs emboldened the Rajputs to form an anti-Maratha coalition. On the other hand, it put serious demands on the power of Sindhia to crush Ghulam Qadir³ and Mirza Ismail Beg Hamdam⁴. Soon their revolting excesses and division of booty prompted Ismail Beg to come to terms with Sindhia against Ghulam Qadir. He joined Rana Khan, who had been deputed by Sindhia to release the Emperor. Delhi was again possessed by Sindhia in October 1788. His forces were busy in crushing Ghulam Qadir till February 1789.

With the suppression of Ghulam Qadir, Mirza Najaf Quli Khan⁵ and Ismail Beg remained the two road blocks in Mahadji's domination over Delhi⁶. Mahadji successfully employed Ismail Beg against Najaf Quli Khan till November 1789. The break with Ismail Beg came early in March 1790 as Mahadji could not provide him help in his attempt to capture Kishangarh. Ismail Beg wanted to convert it into a strong-hold for himself. Ismail Beg then favoured the Jaipur and Jodhpur Rajas in their designs of forming an anti-Maratha league. Had the Rajput Rajas not been in the know of the cut-throat struggle between the Maratha sardars they would never have thought of allying themselves with Ismail Beg and offer resistance to Mahadji.

1 He had planned against the life of Mahadji Sindhia. He was given shelter by Ali Bahadur. Sindhia demanded his surrender. Tukoji aided with Ali Bahadur.

2 Sarkar, *op cit*, IV, 11.

3 *Ibid*.

4 Ghulam Qadir had assumed control over the Emperor after the retreat of Mahadji from Lakhnot and in conjunction with Ismail Beg had the audacity of deposing him. They installed Hidar Bakht—the son of the ex-emperor Ahmed Shah—at the entreaty of the Dowager Empress Mahika I Zaman, who promised to pay them twelve lakhs of rupees. They even had the audacity of extracting both the eyes of the Emperor, for he refused to disclose the hidden treasures. The royal palace was robbed of everything.

5 The adopted son of Najaf Khan.

6 Sarkar, *op cit* IV, 2.

The Rajputs had been apprehending an attack much earlier. Rao Shambhu Singh and Daulat Ram were deputed by the Jaipur Darbar to Jodhpur to seek help against the Marathas¹. Sawai Pratap Singh prevailed upon him to collect 10,000² forces and despatch them under Khushali Ram, who was sent by the Jaipur Darbar for the purpose³. Even the Deputies were sent to win over Ismail Beg⁴. When signs of rupture between Sindhia and Ismail Beg became apparent, the Jodhpur Darbar sent a hundi of Rs. 50,000 to the latter through Shobha Chand Shitab Rai⁵. Some forces were also sent under Singhvi Biney Chand and Lodha Shah Mal on Maghar Sudi 10, 1846,⁶ (27.11.1789) to help the Mirza. At last in February, 1790, the relations between Sindhia and Ismail Beg became very strained. He then formed a confederacy with the Rajputs against Sindhia. The Rajas of Jodhpur and Jaipur agreed to pay him seven and five lakhs of rupees respectively. Payment of two lakhs of rupees was to be made immediately and the balance after the commencement of war with Sindhia.

Bijay Singh tried to secure the aid of the Company too. He deputed Rathor Sangram Singh to apprise the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, of the designs of the Marathas towards the Rajputs and the English⁷. But the Governor General followed a policy of non-intervention.

1 D O A B : Dastari Records, Basta No. 9, File No. 4, letter No. 68, dated Magh Budi 3, 1845, V S (14.1.1789). From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh.

2 D O A B : Dastari Records, Basta No. 9, File No. 4, letter No. 72, dated Baisakh Budi 10, 1846 V S (20.4.1789). From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh.

3 D O A B : Dastari Records, Basta No. 9, File No. 4, letter No. 73, dated Baisakh Sudi 13, 1846 V S (7.5.1789). From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh.

4 D O A B : Dastari Records, Basta No. 9, File No. 4, letter No. 70, dated Phalgun Sudi 8, 1845 V S (5.3.1789). From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh.

5 D O A B : From Singhvi Khub Chand to Khawas Roda Ram, dated Maghar Budi 2, 1846 V S (5.11.1789).

6 D O A B : Jodhpur Records, Hakikat Bahi No. 5, folio 109 A, dated Maghar Sudi 10, 1846 V S (27.11.1789).

7 N A O I : Persian Section, Translation of Persian Records, Tr. 30, pp. 83-85 No. 94. Received March 1, 1790. From Raja Bijay Singh to G.G.

Seeing the designs of Mahadji, Maharaja Bijay Singh began collecting his forces, while putting up an appearance of adjusting the matter amicably¹. He sent Nawal Rai to Sindhia. But he was not granted an interview. An unsuccessful second attempt was made through Ghulam Raza Khan². As such the Rajputs determined to face the inevitable. The Jaipur and Jodhpur Darbars collected a force 40,000 strong³. Every effort was made to secure allies. Bohra Bhawan Ram with a force one thousand strong was sent to Shekhawati to raise an army⁴. There was a general feeling of revolt against the ascendancy of the Marathas in Rajputana and so even hostile chiefs willingly offered their services⁵. The Rajas of Bundi and Shahpura sent their contingents against the Marathas⁶.

The preparations in the Maratha camp were also not lacking. De Boigne⁷ was given the supreme command of Maratha forces. He assembled his battalion 10,000 strong with another 30,000

1 (a) N A O I : Persian Section, Translation of Persian Records TI 30, pp 47-49, No 102, dated March 15, 1790 From GG to Raja of Jaipur

(b) N A O I Persian Section, Translation of Persian Records, TI 30, pp 51-52, No 59, dated Feb 10, 1790 From Raja of Jaipur to GG

2 D O A B Dastari Records Batta No 9, File No 4, letter No 74 dated Baisakh Sudi 1847 V S (14 4 1790 to 28 4 1790) From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh

3 N A O I Persian Section Translation of Persian Records, TI No 30, pp 51-52, No 59, dated Feb 10, 1790. From Raja of Jaipur to GG

4 D O A B Dastari Records, Bundle No 9, File No 4, letter No 73, dated Baisakh Budi 10 1847 V S (9 4 1790) From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh.

5 D O A B From Khichi Bher Singh to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh dated Asadh Budi 13, 1847 V S (10 6 1790), Arziat Section, Bundle No. 17

6 N A O I : Persian Section, Translation of Persian Records TI No 30, pp 146-48, No 121 Received March 17, 1790 From Raja of Jaipur to GG

7 Benoit de Boigne was an officer in the regiment of Lord Clare in the King of France's Irish Brigade. He had studied the art of war in that army and afterwards in the army of Catherine of Russia engaged with the Turks in the Levant. Being taken prisoner he was sold as

(Contd on next page)

of Lakwa Dada¹ The forces left Mathura in May 1790, on their way to Rewari and had a small skirmish with Ismail Beg's forces Beg was forced to retreat towards Patan² to join his Rajput allies The Marathas chased Ismail Beg and encamped eight miles east of the Patan City The Rajputs lay encamped about two miles to the east of Patan³

There was no fighting till the 19th of June, 1790 On the 20th of June the Marathas seized the transport animals of their enemies and when attempts to rescue the animals were made, the battle began During the engagement, the battalions belonging to Mirza Matlab Khan, who was inimical to Ismail Beg, joined the Marathas Mirza Ismail Beg put up a stiff resistance but in the evening he was defeated⁴ and so he left the battle-field The Marathas swept away every trace of resistance by 9 in the evening⁵ Straight from the battle-field Ismail Beg hurried to Jaipur and was busy in collecting the forces to oppose the Marathas again⁶ Sawai Pratap Singh expressed regrets at losing the battle and impressed upon Bijay

(*Contd from previous page*)

a slave at Constantinople but ultimately escaped and came to India He obtained a commission in the 6th Madras Native infantry Soon after he resigned and came to Calcutta He then entered the service of Sindhus Firstly he was offered Rs 4 000 and then subsequently raised to Rs 6,000 a month He retired soon after Mahadji's death He died in June 1830

- 1 Lakwa Dada was a Saraswat Brahman He rose from an humble position to that of a military officer under Mahadji Sindhus and commanded 32 Risalas He displayed great courage and tact against Ismail Beg in the battle of Agra and was honoured by Sindhus who conferred upon him the title of Shamsher Jung Bahadur He fought on the side of Sindhus under Ismail Beg at Patan, against Holkar at Lakhori and against the Rathors at Ajmer Lakwa Dada has been depicted as "the best Maratha general of his time" by Fraser, Military Memoir of Skinner Vol I p 124

2 Sixty miles north of Jaipur and eighteen miles south west of Darnaul.

3 Compton H A *particular account of the European Military Adventures of Hindustan from 1764 to 1803* (London), p 53

4 *Ibid*

5 D O A B Sanad Bahi No 53 folio 145 A

6 D O A B Dastars Records, Bundle No 9, File No 4, letter No 82, dated first Asadh Sudi 10 1847 V 9 (22 6 1790) From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh.

Singh the necessity of continuing their efforts to drive away the Marathas from Rajputana¹

The Marathas, in the meantime, hotly pursued the Rajputs² Marathas under Jivaji, Gopal Bhau and De Boigne occupied Sambhar, Parbatsar and Rupnagar on the way. The Rajputs took refuge in the fort of Patan. It resisted the Marathas for six hours but ultimately capitulated³. The casualties on the Rajput side were heavy⁴. Ismail Beg's army ceased to exist. Bijay Singh proposed peace talks through Rana Khan and Pandit Apa Chitnis but Sindhia did not entertain it⁵. Mahadji aimed at complete reduction of Jodhpur and possess Ajmer. Bijay Singh then took to collecting his forces at Merta and Nagor⁶. He also asked Ismail Beg to join him, promising to pay his expenses.

The Marathas after their victory laid siege to the fort of Ajmer for it was strategically important in maintaining the hold on Rajputana⁷. Infructuous attempts were made to capture it and at last De Boigne leaving some forces there proceeded towards Jodhpur which still posed a threat to the Marathas⁸. The Marathas possessed the city of Ajmer but failed to capture the fort. It held out the invaders for more than six months and was surrendered to the Marathas after Jodhpur was defeated.

While the siege of Ajmer was continuing, the Rajputs and

1 *Ibid*

2 D O A B : From Raja Sampat Singh to Bijay Singh dated Asadh Sudi 13, 1847 V S (23 6 1790)

3 P R C Vol I, No 260, pp. 367-68. Intelligence from the Raja of Jhalnagar dated 7th Shawwal (June 20, 1790)

4 The Kachwahhas lost five battalions and the Rathors some 3000 horsemen. Sindhis lost 32 men from the household cavalry, 301 were wounded. The Marathas collected 105 pieces of artillery, 21 elephants, 8000 flint locks, 1,300 camels and 300 horses.

5 D O A B : Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No. 4, fol 166 B, dated second Asadh Sudi 12, 1846 V S (9 7 1790)

6 Forces from Jalor, Dewar and Sirohi joined him. Hakikat Bahi No. 3 p. 131

7 Sardar Harbhas D B, Ajmer Historical and Descriptive (1st ed. Ajmer, 1941), p. 196

8 D O A B : From Maharaja Bijay Singh to Thakur Suraj Mal, dated 1st Purnima Sudi 1, 1847 V S (19 2 1791)

Marathas prepared for a second bout on the plains of Merta.¹ Bijay Singh tried to win over De Boigne unsuccessfully.² The Rajputs commanded a force 30,000 strong in cavalry, one lakh of infantry and 25 guns. The Marathas under De Boigne commanded an equal number of cavalry, and a strong artillery of 80 guns.³ During the early hours of the morning on the 10th of September, 1790, the Marathas attacked the enemy. Their artillery fire forced the Rajputs to retreat. The Rathors made a vigorous counter-attack. The Marathas had to retreat. De Boigne arranged his forces in a hollow square. The plan succeeded and the forward march of the Rajputs was put to a stop before it was nine in the morning.⁴ The Rajputs were ultimately defeated. Bhandari Ganga Ram was caught while attempting to escape. The Rathor chiefs, namely, Kesho Pandit, Gulabji, Bharat Singh and Arjun Singh were wounded.⁵

Isma'il Beg retired towards Nagor and hurriedly collected his scattered forces. He came to Jodhpur and tried to persuade Bijay Singh to continue his struggle. He himself made an unsuccessful attempt to raise a fresh battalion. As the Raja was not inclined for a renewal of hostilities so he had to give up his plans.

The defeat of the Rajputs was complete and there was no alternative to a complete surrender. Fortunately for the Rajputs Sindhia and Holkar quarrelled over the spoils of war which saved them.⁶ De Boigne was also facing difficulty in maintaining his famished forces. Mahadji Sindhia rushed to the rescue of his general and left Mathura for Rajputana. The Rajput Rajas to avoid his vengeance appointed Deputies to offer terms

1 75 miles north east of Ajmer

2 Keene *op cit* p 155 Bijay Singh proposed to make him an independent ruler of Ajmer. Herbert Compton, *op cit*, p 53

3 Ojha, Jodhpur *op cit*, II, 752

4 D O A B Jodhpur Records, Hakikat Bahi No 5, folio 257 A

5 D O A B Jodhpur Records, Hakikat Bahi No 5, folio 257 A The Rathor casualty was 2,000 killed and 3,000 wounded. Marwar ki kharat Vol III pp 90-91. Mundiya Khayat, pp 252-53

6 Duff, *op cit* p 497

to him¹ Ultimately the Jodhpur Vakils² headed by Budh Singh met Mahadji at Sambhar on the 25th of December, 1790. An agreement was signed on Posh Sudi 1, 1847 V S³ (5 1 1791). The Rathors committed to pay Rs 60,00,001⁴. Out of this amount, Rs 15,00,000 in cash and 3 lakhs in kind were to be paid immediately, Rs 15,00,001 was to be paid in cash in six instalments in the following manner⁵—

(a) Rs 8,00,001 to be paid on Magh Sudi 1, 1847 V S (4 2 1791)

(b) The next four instalments of Rs 1,50,000 each were to be paid on Phalgun Sudi, 1847 V S (5 3 1791), Chaitra Sudi 1, 1848 V S (4 4 1791), Baisakh Sudi 1, 1848 V S (4 5 1791), and Jaisath Sudi 1, 1848 V S (2 6 1791), respectively

(c) The last instalment of one lakh was to be paid on Asadh Sudi 1, 1848 V S (2 7 1791)

1 D O A B : Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No 4, dated Posh Sudi 8, 1847 V S (12 1 1791), folio 241 B. From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharaja Bijay Singh.

A deputation was sent under Vyas Nawal Rai on Sept 14, 1790. Arzi Bahi No 4, pp 161-62, dated Bhadra Sudi 6, 1847 V S (14 9 1790). Another deputation under Muhnot Gopal Das, bukh Ram and Methura Nath was sent on Sept 15, 1790. Arzi Bahi No 4 folio 162 A dated 7th day of the bright half Bhadra 1847 V S (15 9 1790).

2 Budh Singh was accompanied with Bhawani Das Bhandari and Kalyan Das.

3 (a) D O A B : Dastari Records, Basta No 6, File No 6, letter No 57 dated Posh Sudi 1 1847 V S (5 1 1791) From Mahadji Sindhia to Maharaja Bijay Singh, *Jama Kharch* File No 41, Asopa, p 52.

(b) Sardesai, *Historical Papers* op cit, letter No 567, dated Jan 6, 1791. From Apaji Ram to Nana Fadnavis V V 2 p. 856. Jodhpur Rajya ki Khajant 3, pp 93-99.

4 It consisted of 50 lakhs as Mamlat dues 5 lakhs as Darbar charges and 5 lakhs as Nazrana to Mahadji Sindhia.

5 (a) D O A B : Dastari records Basta No 6, File No. 6 letter No 57, dated Posh Sudi 1, 1847 V S (5 1 1791) From Mahadji Sindhia to Maharaja Bijay Singh, *Jodhpur Khajant* 3 p. 499.

(b) Sardesai *Historical Papers*, op cit, letter No 567 dated Jan 6 1791. From Apaji to Nana Fadnavis. He agrees on the stipulated sum but differs from the Rajput sources in the mode of payment. According to him, Rs. 7 lakhs were to be paid on Magh Sudi 1 and the balance to be paid in 4 equal instalments.

The cash instalments were to be supplemented by payment in kind to the amount of Rs 7 lakhs, out of which Rs 3 lakhs were to be paid with the first instalment and the balance of Rs 4 lakhs was to be paid in two instalments during the years 1847-48 V S (March 1790-March 1792). For the remaining 20 lakhs, the Pargana of Sambhar, Nabho, Maroth, Parbatsar and Merta were mortgaged with Mahadji.¹ This sum was to be paid like this Rs 2 lakhs on Jaisath Sudi 15, 1848 V S (16.6.1791), and four equal instalments of Rs 4 lakhs each were to be paid on every Jaisath Sudi 15 from 1849 to 1852 V S (4.6.1792 to 2.6.1795). The rest of the balance of Rs 2 lakhs was to be written off if the Rathors paid the instalments regularly. Besides this, the fort and parganas of Ajmer were to be evacuated in favour of the Marathas.² In addition to this the tributes of Jodhpur and Godwar were settled at Rs 1,50,000 and Rs 30,000 respectively, in Brindaban and Lashkar currency respectively. Another agreement³ was executed between Mahadji Sindhia and Maharaja Bijay Singh through Champawat Budh Singh and Bhandari Kalyan Das, by which they agreed not to employ the aggrieved men of either Raj.

Though there is no reference regarding Ismail Beg in the treaty the correspondence that followed shows that Mahadji had forbidden the two Darbars to provide any protection to him. The Jodhpur Darbar followed it faithfully. Mahadji reprimanded Sawai Pratap Singh for he despatched some forces to help Ismail Beg who had left for Kanod⁴ where Khande Rao

1 (a) Khas Rukhs Bahi No. 1, p. 76

(b) In addition to these five Parganas which were mortgaged, the Maharaja agreed to keep Mahnot Gyan Mal, Singhvi Vyas Manrup and Mohota Banki Das as hostages against good behaviour. Arzi Bahi No. 4, p. 133

2 (a) Sardesai, *Historical Papers*, op. cit., letter No. 591, dated February 12 1791. From Apaji to Nana Fadnavis, Jodhpur. Khayat 3 p. 500

(b) D.O.A.B. From Maharaja Bijay Singh to Thakur Surajmal, dated Phalgun Budi 1 1847 V S (19.2.1791)

(c) Ajmer was occupied by the Marathas in March 1791. Marwar Khayat Vol. III, p. 99

3 D.O.A.B. Dastari Records, Basta No. 6, File No. 6, letter No. 58, No date. From Mahadji Sindhia to Maharaja Bijay Singh

4 D.O.A.B. From Mahadji Sindhia to Pahar Singh, dated Bhadra Sudi 14, 1848 V S (11.9.1791)

Hari was attempting to drive him out. The Jaipur Darbar informed him that Mirza was no longer in his service¹. The Jaipur Darbar sent Dewan Rai Chand to join Khande Rao Hari² against the Mirza. Rao Raja also sent his forces to help the Maratha general³. Ultimately the Marathas defeated Ismail Beg⁴. The defeat turned him into an outcast.

With Jodhpur Darbar under his control Mahadji now turned his attention towards Jaipur which had been the main-spring of his misfortunes during this period. Rājī Patel asked Sawai Pratap Singh to depute Thakur Pahar Singh and Khawas Roda Ram to negotiate the terms⁵. The two representatives⁶ met Mahadji at Phulia in the Pargana of Shahpura⁷. The arrears of the past tribute and Mughal dues were totalled to the sum of Rs 63,00,001⁸ which was to be paid in cash by Jaipur after deducting the amount already paid to Sindhia⁹. In addition to this, 15 lakhs were settled as war indemnity out of which 3 lakhs in cash and one lakh in kind were to be paid immediately. The balance of Rs 11 lakhs was to be made good by assignments on the Rajputs in his Raj¹⁰. A supplementary treaty was also signed by which the Marathas agreed not to interfere in the

1 D O A B From Bohra Khushali Ram to Patel Mahadji Sindhia, dated Ashoj Budi 13, 1848 V S (26.9.1791)

2 D O A B From Surat Ram to Dewan Shri Rai Chand, dated Maghar Budi 9, 1848 V S (20.11.1791) No 149

3 D O A B : From Mahadji Sindhia to Rao Raja Bakhtawar Singh, dated Magh Sudi 5, 1848 V S (28.1.1792), *Maratha Section*

4 D O A B From Gopal Rao and Jivaji Bakshi to Raj Shri Bai Buraaj Kanwarji dated Maghar Sudi 12 1848 V S (7.12.1791)

5 D O A B From Rājī Patel to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh dated Posh Sudi 8 1847 V S (12.1.1791), *Kaput-dwara letter* No 969

6 D O A B From Dulai Chand to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Phalgun Budi 11 V S (28.2.1791) *Amravadast* No 77

7 (a) D O A B From Mahadji Sindhia to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Magh Budi 6, 1847 V S (23.1.1791) *Kaput-dwara*, No 1438.

(b) D O A B From Mahadji Sindhia to Bohra Khushali Ram and Daulat Ram dated Posh Sudi 8, 1847 V S (12.1.1791).

8 The Marathas accounted to 17 lakhs of rupees.

9 D O A B From Mahadji Sindhia to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Magh Sudi 8, 1847 V S (11.2.1791)

10 D O A B : *Kaput-dwara*, Account sheet of Samvat 1847 No 152, 1318, 477

administration of the Raj and not to take sides against the Darbar Mahadji agreed to supply forces if and when demanded by the Raj on condition that the latter would bear the expenses of the forces during its stay. The contracting parties swore by their Gods to execute the agreement faithfully. The Maratha forces were to co-operate in the work of collection from Shekhawati out of which 1/3rd would be paid as 'Fauj Kharch' ¹. The details of Rs. 15 lakhs were worked out ². The Jaipur Raj agreed to pay Rs. 6,48,639 out of which Rs. 5,82,639 in cash including Rs. 50,000 as 'Fauj Kharch' and Rs. 66,000 in kind, Rs. 5,36,586 were to be realised from Shekhawati out of which Rs. 3,14,736 were to be realised by Jagoo Bapoo and Lakwa Dada, Rs. 1,17,000 by Sindhia and Rs. 1,04,850 from Sewar and Unaira, 1/3rd of it, i.e., Rs. 1,78,862 was to be paid as 'Fauj Kharch'. The balance of Rs. 3,57,724 was to be adjusted against the total amount of Rs. 15 lakhs. The Jaipur Maharaja transferred the Nazar of Rs. 50,000 to be paid directly to Sindhia which had been agreed upon as Nazar from Rao Raja Bakhtawar Singh to him. The total amount thus realised would come to Rs. 10,56,363 (6,48,639 plus 3,57,724 plus 50,000) leaving the balance of Rs. 4,43,637. Out of this amount Rs. 4,09,637 was to be paid immediately and the balance of Rs. 34,000 in kind afterwards.

The battle of Merta once again flared up the rivalry between Sindhia and Holkar. It proved the undoing of Mahadji and led to utter chaos in the two camps. This paved the way for British penetration into Rajputana.

Having settled the accounts with the Rajputs Mahadji appointed Lakwa Dada to look after the affairs. He retired for Poona ³. Hardly had he reached Pushkar, when Zalim Singh waited upon him and requested to take Mewar under his

1 D O A B Agreement between Mahadji Sindhia, Khawas Roda Ram and Thakur Pahar Singh, dated Magh Sudi 5 1847 V S (8 2 1791), Letter No. 859, Kapat-dwara.

2 D O A B Agreement between Mahadji Sindhia, Thakur Pahar Singh and Khawas Roda Ram, dated Magh Sudi 14, 1847 V S (17 2 1791), Letter No. 863, Kapat-dwara.

3 D O A B From Maharaja Sawar Pratap Singh to Raja Manik Pal, dated Phalgun Sudi 1847 V S (19 2 1791 to 20 3 1791) Kharita Section No. 80.

protection¹ Mahadji acceded to the request. He was in a hurry to reach Poona so he left Ambaji Inglia to help the Maharana in crushing the rebels. But Ambaji could not get over them. So Mahadji returned and could finally leave Rajputana in the beginning of 1792.

As the money promised by the Jaipur Darbar was not forthcoming, and De Boigne was hard pressed to pacify his mutinous troops so Mahadji made him the recipient of the dues from Jaipur². He put forth his demand at Rs 19,43,614/11/6,³ including Rs 15 lakhs as already agreed upon, Rs 58,000 as 'Fauj Kharch', Rs 15,000 realised from Borada and Rs 3,70,614/11/6 as present expenses for collecting the money from the territory of Jaipur. Further details of Rs 3,70,614/11/6 have been set forth in the agreement as follows —

Expenditure of Bhao Bhaskar Rs 2,28,862/- Out of this Rs 50,000 to be paid to clerks and Rs 1,78,862 as 'Fauj Kharch' at the rate of 1/3rd of the amount collected from Shekhawati and the rest to be adjusted against tribute. The total to be realised from Shekhawati was taken as Rs 5,36,556, Rs. 1,88,031/3/6 to be realised from the Chaudharies, Kanungoes of Shekhawati, Torawati, Balhar, Pragpura and Antala. Out of this Rs 62,683/11/6 was to be paid as 'Fauj Kharch' and Rs 1,25,367/8/ against tribute, Rs 76,159/- as expenditure of De Boigne through Daulat Ram from Siwar and Unaura and Rs 2,910 as expenses of Nand Kishor.

The affairs at Jodhpur were also not encouraging. The Jodhpur Darbar had mortgaged the Parganas of Sambhar, Nabha, Maroth, Parbatsar and Meria with Mahadji, yet the villages⁴ of Sambhar had not been transferred. He asked the Maharaja to instruct his '*Amildars*' to hand over this territory

1 N A O I : Persian section, TR 31 pp 277-78, No 258. Received dated Oct 19, 1791. From Mahadji Sindhia to GG.

2 D O A II : From Mahadji Sindhia to Nawab Pratap Singh, dated Anand Nadi N, 1819 V 8 (27.6.1792).

3 D O A II : Sikar Jile Account sheet of 1819 V.S (23.1.792 to 24.2.1793). Grand total demanded by De Boigne and Bhao Bhaskar through Daulat Ram.

4. The villages were Banarkhi, Sarot and Kuchaman.

to his 'Kamvishdars' ¹ The Maharaja assured that the matter would be adjusted amicably ² The territories were then transferred to Mahadji Sindhia

The same delay was seen in the cash payment and Sindhia constantly reminded the Darbar for it ³ In spite of the casual delay, Bijay Singh paid the tribute due to Sindhia up to his death in July, 1793 and remained on friendly and cordial terms with him ⁴

The defeat of the leading Rajput Rajas at Patan and Merta was nothing short of humiliation at the hands of Mahadji Sindhia Sindhia once again had proved his invincibility to the Rajputs so much so that when the Jaipur ruler again initiated a move against Sindhia in May, 1792, the Jodhpur ruler categorically refused to be a party to it Mahadji had retrieved his lost prestige in Rajputana which had eclipsed due to the disaster at Lalsot He was the master of the land in unequivocal terms and had inversely gained what the Rajput Rajas had lost The defeat of the Rajputs brought in its wake political instability accompanied with financial bankruptcy, giving rise to chaos and turmoil at the Rajput capitals Not only big chunks of land were transferred by Marwar and Jaipur alike, but under duress, they had to promise a huge sum, much beyond their meagre means, to save themselves from Sindhia

1 D O A B Dastari Records, Basta No 6, File No 6, letter No 67, dated Ashoj Sudi 14, 1849 V S (29 9 1792) From Mahadji Sindhia to Maharaja Bijay Singh

2 D O A B Dastari Records, Arzi Bahi No 4 folio 48 A, dated Kartik Budi 10, 1848 V S (22 10 1792) From Maharaja Bijay Singh to Mahadji Sindhia

3 (a) D O A B Dastari Records, Arzi Bahi No. 4, folio 47 B, dated Bhadra Sudi 5 1849 V S. (22 8 1792) From Jodhpur to Mahadji Sindhia

(b) D O A B Dastari Records, Arzi Bahi No 4, folio 57 A, dated Shrawan Budi 6 1851 V S (18 1 1794) From Jodhpur to Kedar Rao Sindhia

4 D O A B Jodhpur Records Arzi Bahi No 4, folio 122 A, dated 8th Jaisath 1848 V S (26 5 1792) From Bijay Singh to Pardit Gopal Rao

Chapter 6

The Tussle for Supremacy Among the Maratha Generals in Mewar (1792-1803)

Ambaji Ingha governed Mewar for eight years. He captured Kumbhalgarh and suppressed Ratan Singh. But Daulat Rao Sindhia was busy at Poona and so the responsibility of keeping his interests safe in Mewar were entrusted to his generals. The day to day changes in the councils of Sindhia due to widow's war flared up an open contest between the generals—Ambaji and Lakwa Dada. The Chundawuts and the Saktawats sided with them. This contest ended in Ambaji's defeat. Lakwa Dada was restored to favour at Sindhia's court and appointed as his agent in northern India. Ambaji left Mewar. Soon after, Ambaji was once again appointed as Sindhia's deputy in Mewar. Lakwa had to move from one court to the other to find shelter till at last he died in Mewar in 1802. This rivalry between the generals of Sindhia brought ruin to Mewar as it was the battleground of conflicting interests.

By the year 1792 Mahadji had subdued the Rajas of Jaipur and Jodhpur¹. Mewar, like the Mughal Empire, had become a protectorate of Mahadji. He left his trusted general Ambaji Ingha to look after the affairs of Mewar. He instructed him

1 N & O I : Persian Section, Letter No. OR 310, dated July 6, 1791
From Mahadji Sindhia to Major Palmer

to establish the supremacy of the Maharana¹ over those principalities which had slipped away from his hands. The first fruits of the understanding proved useful for the Maharana.

Maharana Bhim Singh sent his forces under Ambaji Inglia to capture Kumbhalgarh and oust the pretender, Ratan Singh, from there². As soon as Ratan Singh came to know of it he deputed Ghana Rao Desuri to face it³. After a brief skirmish the fort capitulated on Posh Budi 8, 1849 V S⁴ (7 12 1792). Ambaji returned to Mewar after handing over the fort to Jaswant Singh⁵. The suppression of Ratan Singh's power made the Maharana feel secure against his rival but it brought him under the complete influence of the Marathas. For a time, the guns were silent in Mewar. Ambaji was successful in making the authority of the Rana felt alike by the Chundawuts and Saktawuts.

With the death of Mahadji Sindhia at Poona on Magh Sudi 13, 1850 V S⁶ (12 2 1794), the forces of disintegration were let loose. Daulat Rao Sindhia, the nephew of the deceased, ascended the throne. He had neither the talent nor the maturity of Mahadji. Even more than this, the whole of his attention was concentrated on Poona, for the death of the Peshwa Madho Rao on October 7, 1793, accelerated a contest for supremacy. Daulat Rao Sindhia could not attend to Rajputana for seven long years. The entire responsibility, for maintaining the Maratha interests there, was left to his generals, who were jealous of each other. The changes in the councils of Daulat Rao Sindhia created a sense of insecurity among the Maratha generals. It

1 Shyamal Das *op cit* p 1716

2 D O A B. From Rai Bheru Bux to Jiv Rajji Singh, dated Posh Sudi 5 1849 V S (18 12 1792) Khatut Abalkaran, Bundle No 14, Khat No 144/2. Ambaji Inglia contributed 1,500 forces and the Maharana added another 5,000 to it under Sheo Das.

3 D O A B. *Ibid*.

4 D O A B. From Shah Sati Das to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Posh Sudi 6, 1849 V S (19 12 1792) Arziat Section, Bundle No 17.

5 A trusted supporter of the Maharana.

6 D O A B. From Tukoji Holkar to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Phalgun Budi 7 1850 V S (22 2 1794), Kharita Section, Indore Bundle.

also provoked an open hostility between them. Mewar became the battle field for the internal discussions of the Rajputs and Marathas alike. Ambaji who had assumed the title of Subedar¹ of Mewar, was now nominated as Sindhia's Viceroy in the Eastern part comprising Jhansi. He left Nana Ganesh as his deputy in Mewar. He supported the pretensions of the Saktawuts against Chundawuts which had serious repercussions.²

Due to the rivalries among the Maratha generals, the marriage of the Mewar princess, which was scheduled to be solemnised in December 1794, with Sawai Pratap Singh of Jaipur, could not come off.³ Every preparation was made for it. The forces were recalled from Sheopur.⁴ Rao Raj Singh Naruka was invited to attend it.⁵ But the Maratha disturbances continued unabated. Bakshi Raoji shared the responsibility of defending Jaipur in his absence.⁶ The Maharaja started from Jaipur on Jaisath Budi 10, 1851 V S (24.5.1794). He addressed a letter to Daulat Rao Sindhia to instruct his generals in Rajputana to stop their activities. He instructed Ambaji accordingly.⁷ Though Ambaji assured the Maharaja of it⁸ yet

1 Subedar means the Governor but here it stands for the agent of Sindhia at the court of the Maharana.

2 Tod, *op cit* p. 356. Raghunath Singh, p. 222.

3 D.O. A.B. : From Shah Shoo Das and Ambaji Ingolia to Gian Singh, dated Posh Budi 12, 1851 V S (19.12.1794). Khatut Akharita, Bundle No. 14, Khat No. 124.

4 D.O. A.B. : From Raja Radhika Das to Bohra Khushali Ram dated Chaitra Sudi 12, 1851 V S (12.4.1794). Draft Akharita, Bundle No. 22, Draft No. 61.

5 D.O. A.B. : From Rao Raj Singh Naruka to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Chaitra Budi 14, 1851 V S (31.3.1794). Arziat Section, Bundle No. 10.

6 D.O. A.B. : From Bakshi Raoji and Jiva Lal to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh dated Chaitra Budi 7, 1851 V S (23.3.1794). Arziat Section, Bundle No. 14.

7 (a) D.O. A.B. : From Daulat Rao Sindhia to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Magar Budi 10, 1851 V S (17.11.1794). Akharita Section, GII.

(b) D.O. A.B. : From Sati Das to Radhika Rao dated Magh Budi 4, 1851 V S (13.1.1795). Draft Akharita, Bundle No. 22.

8 D.O. A.B. : From Bohra Ram Khushan to Ambaji Ingolia, dated Jaisath Budi 12, 1851 V S (24.5.1794). Draft Akharita, Bundle No. 22. D. N. 121.

he could not check the Marathas¹. He advised him that the ceremony be performed on some other date². The Maharaja at last made a personal appeal to the Marathas to restore peace for some time³. But as there was no favourable response to his call, and also the conditions in Mewar were unsettled so he returned to Jaipur⁴. Some prominent Chundawuts unsuccessfully tried to maintain peace for their own interests⁵. The Maharaja had to postpone the marriage to some other date when peace might be prevailing in Mewar and Jaipur⁶.

The postponement of the marriage had an adverse effect on the Chundawuts, for they had planned to gain the confidence of the Maharana through the good offices of Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh⁷. But the marriage could not take place and the troubles went on piling up as usual. The news of a possible rapprochement made the Maratha generals more suspicious of the designs of the Chundawuts, for unity in Mewar was against their interests. Nana Ganesb championed the cause of the Saktawuts⁸. The Chundawuts, as such, took to plunder. The law of the jungle prevailed everywhere. The Maharana himself was disgusted at the clannish struggles between the two groups

- 1 D O A B From Ambaji Inglia to Khushali Ram dated Jambh Sudi 1, 1851 V S (15 5 1794), D K Bundle No 22, Draft No 130
- 2 D O A B From Ambaji Inglia to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Bhadra Sudi 2, 1851 V S (27 8 1794), D K Bundle No 22
- 3 D O A B From Ratan Lal to Shao Das, dated Ashoj Sudi 4, 1851 V S (13 9 1794), D K Bundle No 22
- 4 D O A B (a) From Daulat Rao Sindhia to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Magar Sudi 10, 1851 V S (17 11 1794), Kharita Section
(b) From Ratan Lal to Maharaja Bhim Singh, dated Magar Sudi 6, 1851 V S (28 11 1794) D K Bundle No 22
- 5 D O A B From Gokul Das Rawat to Gian Singh, dated Chaitra Sudi 13, 1850 V S (13 4 1794) Khatut Ahalkaran Bundle No 14, Khat No 146/2
- 6 D O A B From Shah Shao Das and Ambaji Inglia to Gian Singh, dated Posh Sudi 12 1851 V S (19 12 1794), D.K Bundle No 22, Draft No 134
- 7 D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Rawat Bhim Singh, dated Baisakh Sudi 14 1851 V S (28 4 1794) D K Bundle No 22, Draft No 150
- 8 Ojha, Udaipur, op cit, p 995

and the Maratha activities. He requested Sawai Pratap Singh, who had an influence on the Chundawuts, to ask them to stop their activities¹. He wrote to that effect to Rawat Bhim Singh². The Chundawuts then surrendered to the Maharana on October 23, 1795 and swore to serve his interests³. Ambaji Inglia was won over by a promise of 10 lakhs of rupees. He gave up the cause of the Saktawuts. With the aid of Ambaji's forces the Chundawuts realised ten lakhs from the Saktawuts and possessed their two jagirs⁴.

The Chundawuts, being reconciled, the Maharana made liberal grants to them. The benefits for Mewar from such a reconciliation were short-lived. Murder, assassination, and arrests were common. The Marathas made capital out of the turmoil⁵. Lakshman Anant Rao, popularly called Lakwa Dada, who was Sindhia's deputy in Hindustan could not give his attention to Rajputana. He was engaged in safeguarding the Maratha frontiers which now extended up to Peshawar. For a time, the possibility of Zaman Shah's⁶ invasion and the likelihood of the Rajputs to utilise the opportunity for throwing off the Maratha yoke made him attend to Rajputana seriously. Hardly had he made up his mind, when he fell from power and orders were sent for his arrest. Lakwa Dada left the things in a mess. He proceeded towards Oudh in November, 1796. He could not be reconciled to the inner councils of Sindhia for nearly ten months⁷. In his absence, the administration of Hindustan was carried on by his associate, Jagoo Bapoo.

When the Marathas were engaged in these affairs at home, the Chundawuts established their hold on the Rana. The Rana

1 D O A B : From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Maharana Bhim Singh, dated Ahoj Sudi 13, 1852 V 9 (26.10.1795), Bharat Section, Bundle No. 51.

2 The head of the Chundawuts clan.

3 D O A B : From Rawat Bhim Singh to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Maghar Sudi 11, 1852 V 9 (7.12.1795), Azlat Section, Bundle No. 18.

4 *Tol, op cit*, I, p. 228. The Jagirs were Hitha and Semari.

5 Ojha, Udaipur, *op cit*, p. 295.

6 Zaman Shah, the younger son of Timur Shah Durrani, succeeded the throne of Kabul on the death of his father in May 1793.

7 Raghunath Singh, *op cit*, p. 224.

imprisoned Sheo Das and released his predecessor Bhum Singh. He bestowed upon him his former possession of Chittorgarh.¹ Mchta Agar Chand became the Prime Minister.²

The Rana saw in these dissensions among the Maratha generals an opportunity to throw off their domination.³ He won over the Kachwahs to his side.⁴ As soon as the news reached Daulat Rao Sindhia, he, wisely setting aside his domestic feuds, ordered Jagan Nath Rao (Jagoo Bapoo) and Lakwa Dada⁵ in October 1797 to assemble all their forces and repair to Mewar. Before the plan of the Maharana could materialise, the Marathas entered Mewar. They forced the Maharana to pay seventeen lakhs of rupees⁶ as the price of clinching a union. Mewar had hardly got rid of her previous commitments when this new burden fell upon her.

At the other end, the internal troubles at Sindhia's Darbar and his marriage with the daughter of Surjee Rao Ghatke, complicated the affairs at Poona. He ordered Lakwa Dada to be imprisoned a second time. The Naibship of Hindustan was offered to Ambaji Inghia. But Daulat Rao had not as yet controlled the Maratha generals. His deteriorating relations with the widows of Mahadji Sindhia⁷ had assumed ungovernable magnitude.⁸ It converted into a civil strife (Widow's War) by May 1798. Ambaji remained loyal to Daulat Rao Sindhia.

1 P R C Vol VIII, letter No 63, pp. 92-3, dated November 28 1797.

2 Raghuraj Singh, *op cit*, p. 224.

3 P R C Vol VIII, letter No 63, pp. 92-3, dated November 28, 1797.

4 (a) D O A B From Rawat Gokul Das to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh dated Chaitra Budi 7, 1853 V S (19-3-1797), Arziat Section, Bundle No 18.

(b) D O A B From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Rawat Gokul Das, dated Baisakh Budi 5, 1854 V S (16-4-1797), D K. Section, Bundle No 23.

5 Lakwa Dada was reconciled in August 1797.

6 Banera From Maharaja Surat Singh to Raja Hamir Singh, dated Phalgun Budi 5, 1854 V S (21-2-1798), File No. 6, letter No. 2.

7 Lakshmi Bai, Yamuna Bai, Bhagwati Bai and Kesar Bai.

8. Arthur Wellesley's contention that the equal division of tribute from the Rajput States was the sole ground for Sindhia Holkar rivalry
(Contd. on next page)

while Lakwa Dada supported the widows. He got them released in August 1798, and in their name declared himself to be the Naib of Hindustan¹. He asked the Maharana to expel Nana Ganesh². This dual Governorship could not continue for long. So a contest for supremacy again flared up between the two generals of Sindhia³. Mewar became the battle-ground. They tried to win over the Kachwahas and Rathors to their side. When Lakwa Dada came to know that Sawai Pratap Singh was inclined to help Ambaji Inglia, he asked him not to interfere in their mutual quarrels⁴. Ambaji Inglia asked Maharaja Bhim Singh to support his cause⁵. He proposed to hand over the pargana of Sambhar to him. The proposal could not be executed due to the shifting politics at Poona. The Rajput Rajas had become wise enough not to trust these promises. So the Jodhpur Raja showed no eagerness for the Maratha cause. The Jaipur Raja adopted a posture of neutrality for he thought it unwise to interfere in the Maratha affairs.

Though Jaipur and Jodhpur had kept themselves aloof, the Chundawuts saw in it an opportunity to bring Nana Ganesh's⁶ power to an end. Nana Ganesh opposed the hold of the Chundawuts on the Maharana and had a soft corner for Zahim Singh—their avowed enemy. The Chundawuts planned to bring the rival contestants to an issue and promised to support him. On

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does not seem to be sound. Owen, p. 369. Nor even 'Absolute Domination' seems to hold the ground as mentioned by Thornton. 'The genesis of Sindhia-Holkar rivalry is to be found in the political psychology of the times.' Qandoo 8. N. Jaswant Rao Holkar. *The Golden Rogue*, p. 52.

1 Phulke op cit II 116 Raghuraj Singh, p. 226

2 Nana Ganesh was the deputy of Ambaji Inglia, appointed to look after his interests in Mewar.

3 Ambaji Inglia and Lakwa Dada.

4 D.O. V 11 : From Jagan Nath Rao Bahadur and Lakshman Anant Bahadur to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Magesar Sudi 1 1855 V 4 (14.12.1798).

5 D.O. V 11 : Jodhpur records. Azal Bahi No 4 folio 71B dated Ashoj Hudi, 5, 1853 V 4 (31.9.1798). From Jodhpur to Ambaji Inglia.

6 Nana Ganesh had been carrying on the administration of Mewar since the time when Ambaji Inglia was sent to Jhans.

the other hand, they asked Lakwa Dada to advance from Jawad and attack him. The rival forces held an engagement at Lawa in which Nana Ganesh sustained heavy reverses. He retired to Chittor¹. Jagoo Bapoo and Yeshwant Rao Bhanu² pursued him. They asked the Chundawat chief, Rawat Bhim Singh, to despatch some forces as it was a unique opportunity for ousting Nana Ganesh from Mewar³.

Nana Ganesh again attacked, but luck did not favour him. He fled to Hamirgarh. Thereafter the Maharana despatched his army towards Hamirgarh⁴. The Maharana by despatching his forces to help Jagoo Bapoo and Yeshwant Rao, indirectly recognised Lakwa Dada as the Subedar of Mewar. As Lakwa was opposing Daulat Rao Sindhia at the time, so the Maharana's action amounted to acting against the interests of Sindhia. This fatal folly of the Maharana gave momentum to the two opponents to fight to the finish. The strife assumed alarming proportions and brought ruin to the country. Nana Ganesh was much harassed by the associates of Lakwa Dada and so, he asked Ambaji to come to his rescue. He also gained the favour of the Saktawuts.

Ambaji deputed Bohra Ram Krishna and Gulabji Kadamb to help him. Rawat Bhim Singh then requested Sawai Pratap Singh to send his contingent to foil the thrust of Gulabji Kadamb into Mewar⁵. The Maharana also requested Sawai Pratap Singh to come personally to his help⁶. When no help reached Mewar,

1 *Tol. op cit* I, 338

2 The two deputies of Lakwa Dada sent to Mewar against Nana Ganesh.

3 D O A B From Jagannath Rao Behadur and Yeshwant Rao Bhanu to Rawat Bhim Singh, dated Posh Budi 14, 1855 V S (511799)

4 It included Pradhan Agar Chand, Rawat Bhim Singh of Salumber, Rawat Pratap Singh of Amet, Rawat Gokul Das of Deogarh, Thakur Jait Singh of Badnore, his sons Abhey Singh and Bhawan Singh, Rawat Sarisar Singh of Bhadeshwar, Baba Anoop Singh and Gopal Singh Suraj Mal Rathor and Bawa Fateh Singh of Keriya. Shyamal Das *op cit* p. 1721

5 D O A B From Rawat Bhim Singh to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Phalgun Sudi 12, 1855 V S (1831799), Arziat Section, Bundle No. 18

6 D O A B From Maharana Bhim Singh to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh dated Phalgun Sudi 13, 1855 V S (1931799), Alariza Section, Udaipur Bundle

the forces sought an understanding with Khichi Durjan Sal¹ and brought him under their standard² Rawat Gokul Dass appealed to the Maharaja to save Mewar³ When no help could come the Maharana and the Chundawuts championed the cause of Lakwa Dada⁴ Nothing could better be organised than the disorganisation of the Empire When to such mutual rivalries of the Marathas was added the divided counsels of the Rajputs the utter ruin of the country could only be the outcome

Again an attempt was made to woo the Jaipur Raja by deputing Pandit Gangadhar⁵ The reaction was at once perceptible in the camp of Gulabji Kadambar As soon as he came to know of it he wrote a letter to Ratan Lal of Jaipur professing his good intentions towards Jaipur and asking him not to furnish any force to his rivals⁶ As such, the mission of Pandit Gangadhar failed

The Maharana, emboldened by Daulat Rao Sindhia's troubles, took the offensive With the help of Lakwa Dada's forces he attacked the parganas of Ajmer which had been snatched away from him by the late Mahadji Sindhia⁷ Lakwa Dada with Maharana's troops contested a battle against Jagoo Bapoo at Mussa Mussi They were on the verge of victory when a general panic prevailed in their camp The troops of Lakwa Dada and the Maharana were routed by Gulabji Kadambar But this defeat did not subjugate them completely Gulabji

1 Raja of Baghohar

2 D O A B : From Rawat Gokul Dass to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Chaitra Sudi 13, 1835 V S (18 & 1799), D K Section, Bundle No 23

3 *Ibid*

4 D O A B : From Rawat Blum Singh and Rawat Gokul Dass to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Baisakh Badi 10, 1835 V S (20 & 1799), D K Bundle No 23

5 D O A B : From Melha Agar Chand to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Chaitra Sudi 13, 1834 V S (19 & 1799), Arast Section Bundle No 18.

6 D O A B : From Gulab Rai Kadambar to Ratan Lal dated Baisakh Badi 13, 1834 V S (4 & 1799), Akhatut Akhakaran Bundle No 13

7 N A O I : P & S, April 22, 1792, Cons No 15 From J Collins to Co, dated April 15, 1792

Kadamb retired to Hamirgarh,¹ which he took to be a safer place. The Mewar forces, having re-equipped themselves, besieged Hamirgarh. Gulabji and Nana Ganesh asked for some more help from Ambaji Inghia. He ordered his brother Balay Rao and Bapuji Sindhia to help them. They marched from Kota on the 15th April 1799.² As soon as Lakwa Dada was apprised of their march, he immediately raised the siege and marched to Chittorgarh.³ He unsuccessfully attempted to obstruct their union.⁴ The besieged forces left Hamirgarh and joined the relief at Gosoonda. But soon a dispute arose between Nana Ganesh and Balay Rao regarding the pay of the troops and the former retired to Sanganer. Balay Rao joined Lakwa Dada. He was followed soon by Bapuji Sindhia. Nana Ganesh and Gulabji were again left all alone. It was expected that the congregated masses would be engaged in setting their own scores and Mewar would be the beneficiary from this state of affairs, but it was wishful thinking.

Nana Ganesh again sought the help of Ambaji. He ordered George Thomas⁵ to join him. Lakwa Dada unsuccessfully tried to bring Nana Ganesh to a decisive action before Thomas could join him. Durjansal also obstructed the passage of Thomas but failed.⁶ Several indecisive engagements took place between

1 NAOI F & S April 19, 1799, Cons. No. 19, From J Collins to GG, dated April 15, 1799.

2 NAOI F & S May 10 1799, Cons. No. 9 From J Collins to GG, dated April 28, 1799.

3 Shahpura khayat 2, pp. 11, 12.

4 NAOI F & S May 20 1799 Cons. No. 31 From J Collins to GG, dated May 6 1799.

5 George Thomas was born in Tipperary in the year 1756. He adopted the seafaring profession and came out to India whilst he was quite a boy. He found his way to Hyderabad and took service as a private soldier in the army of Nizam Ali Khan. But he did not stay long, for in 1787 he left the Deccan and made his way to Delhi. The only body of regular troop in Hindustan was that belonging to the Begum Rumra, to whom Thomas offered his services. She held the fief of Sardhana, a district lying about forty five miles north of Delhi where her troops were stationed. Before long he obtained the Begum's confidence and was promoted to the command of a battalion in her forces. Then in 1793 he entered the service of Apa Khanda Rao. Thomas was given the districts of Tijara, Tajukra and Farizpur in Apa Khanda Rao's service. He raised a battalion of 1,200 regular infantry and 100 horses.

6 *Tal. op. cit.* I 361.

the forces of Nana Ganesh and Lakwa Dada. On the 9th of August, a body of Lakwa Dada's troops carried by assault one of the batteries of Nana Ganesh¹ which was defended by Bunead Singh and Bakhtawar Singh. George Thomas was prevented from assisting the troops of Nana Ganesh by the overflow of a streamlet². Lakwa Dada in vain tried to win over George Thomas. In the meantime, Baley Rao reduced several mud forts to cut down the supply of garrisons from Shahpura³. Lakwa Dada also marched towards Shahpura to check depredations in the Rana's districts⁴ and winning over Raja Amar Singh to his side. Lakwa Dada and Jagoo Bapoo, in turn, reduced the rest of the mud forts and wrought havoc. The plight of the Raja was miserable. He begged the help of Sawai Pratap Singh⁵. He also informed him of Baley Rao's intentions to invade Jaipur. But no reinforcements arrived. Soon the invaders left Shahpura after exacting securities for Rs. 60,000⁶. Lakwa Dada enlisted Raja Amar Singh to his side.

After these skirmishes, Thomas returned to Sanganeer to collect ammunition. Lakwa Dada retired to Ajmer. When Ambaji was apprised of this disaster, he requested Perron⁷ to help his generals. Ambaji even advanced four lakhs of rupees to him by good bills. Four of his battalions marched towards Ajmer en route to Jaipur⁸. But only four days later, the forces

1 Nana Ganesh lost some 500 men and five pieces of cannon.

2 P. R. C. Vol VIII, pp. 202-204, letter No. 163, dated April 18, 1799.

3 N. A. O. I. P. & S. July 1, 1799. Cons. No. 17. From J. Collins to C. G., dated June 17, 1799.

4 *Ibid.*

5 D. O. A. H. : From Raja Amar Singh to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Ahoj Sudi 5, 1856 V. S. (3.10.1799). Khairata Section.

6 N. A. O. I. : P. & S. October 8, 1799, Cons. No. 1, From J. Collins to C. G., dated September 12, 1799.

7 Pierre Cullier better known to history as General Perron, was born in France in 1743 and arrived in India in 1790 in the naval squadron led by Suffren. Deserting the French flag he became a soldier of fortune serving alternately the Rana of Gohad, the Raja of Bharatpur, Begum Satara and finally joined De Bologne's battalion in 1791 succeeding him in the Chief command in 1796 and maintained the position till 2nd Sept. 1803. His assignment fetched a revenue of 40 lakhs of rupees a year.

8 P. R. C. Vol VIII, pp. 206-207. No. 160, dated September 4, 1799.

were ordered to halt because of the disturbances arising in Ambaji's camp amongst the Jharriy Fauj, who had received no pay for a long time

During all this time, negotiations were carried on between Ambaji and Lakwa Dada¹ The difficulties to which Nana Gansh was subjected made him initiate a move for reconciling their differences But the Chundawuts did not pay any heed to it He then sought the mediation of Hamir Singh of Banera² But the distrust of each other could not bring a compromise Perron also espoused the interests of Lakwa Dada³ whom he considered as the rising sun against Ambaji whose growing power was a danger to him As such, Ambaji's cause was lost in Mewar for some time

Lakwa Dada then came to Kishangarh on the 18th of September 1799⁴ Raja Pratap Singh, feeling the danger at his doors, asked Maharaja Bhim Singh to depute Bhandari Sheo Chand with his forces for the defence of Kishangarh⁵ He sent Megh Raj to help him Pratap Singh was highly gratified at the timely help rendered by the Maharaja⁶ With the arrival of Jodhpur forces Lakwa Dada could get no success By this time, a political revolution had taken place at Sindhia's court, and Daulat Rao appointed Lakwa Dada as his representative in Mewar Ambaji found himself in difficulty So he attempted to meet Lakwa Dada The two Maratha sardars decided to meet at Mauzabad⁷ to settle their differences amicably⁸ The meeting

1 N A O I F & S, July 1, 1799, Cons No 17 From J Collins to GG, dated June 17, 1799

2 Banera From Gulab Rai Kadamb to Raja Hamir Singh, dated Bhadra Sudi 10 1856 V S (9 9 1799), letter No 17, File Maratha generals

3 F R C Vol VIII pp 214 15 letter No 173, dated Sept 27, 1799

4 D O A B Dastari records, Basta No 4 file No 2, letter No 4 dated Ashoj Sudi 3 1856 V S (2 10 1799) From Kishangarh to Maharaja Bhim Singh

5 D O A B Dastari records Basta No 4, File No 2, letter No 3, dated Kartik Sudi 13 1856 V S (10 11 1799) From Kishangarh to Maharaja Bhim Singh

6 N A O I F & S December 17, 1799, Cons No 9, From J Collins to GG dated October 27 1799

7 Eighteen miles from Kishangarh

8 N A O I F & S December 17 1799 Cons No 9 From J Collins to GG dated October 27, 1799

took place on October 27, 1799, and a compromise was reached¹ Ambaji found no need of George Thomas and so he dismissed him from his services. He himself retired to Kota where he remained till January 1800. Though he was at peace with Lakwa Dada, yet he always cherished the hope of being restored to his former position. He unsuccessfully tried to secure the aid of Zaim Singh². He even sent letters to persuade the officers of Lakwa Dada to desert him³. When nothing could come out he proceeded to Marwar.

With Ambaji lying low for the time being Lakwa Dada established peace in Mewar. He imposed Rs 24 lakhs as contribution from Mewar and realised a greater part of it. He then adopted a policy of realising contributions from the refractory nobles of Mewar. He laid siege to Jahajpur in conjunction with Zaim Singh⁴. The siege lasted for a month and at last the fortress was stormed. Lakwa Dada invaded Jahajpur for getting a good amount as contribution but his hopes were dashed to the ground. He forced the Raja to surrender Jahajpur to him for a promise of Rs 6 lakhs. But Lakwa Dada was in urgent need of money. He transferred the pargana of Jahajpur to Zaim Singh for the same amount.

The successful attempt of the Marathas at Jahajpur made the Raja of Shahpura suspicious of their designs. Raja Amar Singh made an appeal to Sawai Pratap Singh to help him against

1 N A O I F & S December 17 1799, Cons. No 12 From J Collins to G.G. dated October 20 1799. The terms were as follows—Lakwa was acknowledged as hindustani deputy. Perron retained forts of Agra, Aligarh and Delhi, Ambaji retained his former possessions of Gwalior etc. and relinquished every Pargana of Mewar taken from the party of the Bais.

2 N A O I F & S April 24 1800, Cons. No 63 From J Collins to G.G., dated January 31, 1800.

3 N A O I F & S April 24 1800, Cons. No 66 From J Collins to G.G. dated February 22, 1800.

4 (a) D O A B From Raja Amar Singh to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh dated Fash Sudd 4, 1800 V S (30 12 1799) Kharita betwan, Shahpura Hazilla.

(b) Jahajpur is 12 miles south west of Deoli.

Lakwa¹ But fortunately Lakwa Dada bypassed Shahpura proper this time and laid siege to Banera, a fort nearby. Yeshwant Rao Bhau accompanied him. They pressed the Raja for the payment of tribute.² The Raja came out and made some handsome presents. But the Marathas were not satisfied and pressed for the payment. Mehta Devi Chand of Banera sought Maharana's help and requested Mauji Ram, who was in the Maratha camp, to settle the question of tribute amicably.³ At his request, Maharana Bhim Singh addressed a letter to Lakwa Dada and Jagoo Bapoo to cease hostilities.⁴ But in spite of it, Yeshwar Rao Bhau left Banera after he realised Rs 14,500 from the Raja.⁵

At the other end the misfortunes of Ambaji were short-lived. The catalytic changes convulsing Poona altered his fortunes and of Rajputana alike. The widow's power, considered to be a spent force, again opened after the release of Surjee Rao Ghatke⁶ in January, 1800. Daulat Rao Sindhia imprisoned Baloba Tantiya on April 25, 1800⁷ and ordered for the arrest of Lakwa Dada the same day. He appointed Ambaji in his place. He asked to seek the co-operation of Perron⁸ and check the

1 D O A B. From Raja Amar Singh to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Posh Sudi 4, 1856 V S (30.12.1799), Kharita Section, Shahpura Bundle.

2 Banera. Account Book of the Samvat 1856 V S, from Shrawan Budi 1, 1856 V S to Ashoj Budi 15, 1857 V S (17.7.1799 to 6.7.1800), No. 242.

3 Banera. From Mehta Devi Chand to Mauji Ram, dated 1856 V S (1799-1800), File No. 9. Historical letters.

4 Banera. From Maharaja Bhim Singh to Lakshman Anant Rao and Jagan Nath Rao dated Jyeshtha Sudi 11, 1856 V S (3.6.1800).

5 (a) Banera. Account Book of the Samvat 1856. From Shrawan Budi 1 1856 V S to Ashoj Budi 15, 1857 V S (17.7.1799 to 6.7.1800), No. 242.

(b) Banera. From Daulat Rao Sindhia to Raja Hamir Singh, dated Kartik Budi 2 1857 V S (22.7.1800).

6 The father in law of Daulat Rao Sindhia.

7 (a) The Dewan of Sindhia.

(b) Raghubir Singh *op cit*, p. 230.

8 D O A B. From Daulat Rao Sindhia to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh dated Jyeshtha Sudi 1, 1857 V S (24.5.1800), Kharita Section.

activities of Lakwa Dada. He requested the Jaipur¹ and Jodhpur² Darbars not to give any assistance to Lakwa Dada. Lakwa, as such, left the Maratha camp on May 5, 1800 and, accompanied by Jagoo Bapoo, fled towards Ajmer.³ He apprised Maharaja Bhim Singh of his flight asking him that the mutual differences would soon be adjusted and that he should pay him the tribute.⁴ He sent his family to Jodhpur for safety⁵ and agreed to defend it against Perron. The Maharaja was also asked by Sindhia to act according to the advice of Ambaji Ingolia and Perron.⁶ The Maharaja was in a fix. He wanted to satisfy both. He, therefore, sheltered his family but refused to provide him any financial help.

Lakwa Dada and Jagoo Bapoo could not hold Ajmer for long and so they fled towards Jaipur. Perron pursued them but reached Jaipur too late. From there they marched to Jodhpur. When they learnt of Perron's march they asked Bhim Singh if he had raised adequate forces to resist him.⁷ They again prevailed upon him to send his forces and informed him that Amir Khan's⁸ help was shortly expect-

- 1 D O A B : From Daulat Rao Sindhia to Maharaja Sewai Pratap Singh, dated Shrawan Budi 5, 1857 V S (11 7 1800), Kharita section, GB
- 2 D O A B : Dastari records File No 6, letter No 13 from Daulat Rao Sindhia to Maharaja Bhim Singh, dated Shrawan Budi 5, 1857 V S (11 7 1800)
- 3 N A O I : F & S May 22, 1800, Cons. No. 59 From J Collins to GG, dated May 11, 1800
- 4 D O A B : Dastari Records, Basta No. 6 File No 6 letter No. 15, dated Jaisath Budi 1, 1857 V S (10 3 1800)
- 5 N A O I : F & S, June 26, 1800, Cons. No. 66, from J Collins to GG, dated May 30, 1800; Raghubir Singh p. 230
- 6 D O A B : Dastari records, Basta No. 6, File No. 6 letter No. 17, dated Jaisath Budi 1 1857 V S (24 5 1800) From Daulat Rao Sindhia to Maharaja Bhim Singh
- 7 D O A B : Dastari records Basta No. 6, File No. 6 letter No. 16, dated Anadhi Budi 5, 1857 V S (11 6 1800) From Jagan Nath Rao and Lakshman Anand Rao to Maharaja Bhim Singh
- 8 Amir Khan was born in Hijra Year 1182 (6th May 1769). He was the second son of Muhammad Hyat Khan who was a Pathan of the Balat Zai tribe. When about twenty years of age, he left home in search of an independent career as a soldier. De Bugebe who was raising an army for Sindhia, in 1787-88, refused to enlist him as a soldier
(Contd. on next page)

ed¹ Perron reached Jodhpur but soon he had to march for Saharanpur in order to quell disturbances created by Lakwa's followers² there. Lakwa proceeded to Mewar and prevailed upon the Maharana to pay him such sums as might suffice to clear off the arrears of his troops³. Here, too, he could not succeed and so left for Malwa. With the departure of Lakwa from Mewar, the tussle between the generals of Sindhua to gain the upper hand in Mewar ceased for some time.

Hardly had this come to an end when the rivalry between Daulat Rao Sindhua and Jaswant Rao Holkar⁴ broke out at Indore. Holkar was defeated on October 14, 1801⁵. In spite of the defeat of Jaswant Rao Holkar, Sindhua could not reap

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because of his young age. He reached Shekhawati country and was employed by Bagh Singh of Khetri. He next served Bijay Singh of Jodhpur. The civil war in Bhopal (1794-96 A.D.) gave a dramatic turn to his career. In 1797 he came into contact with the predatory hordes of the Girsasia Chiefs and the Marathas. From them he learnt the art of thriving on plunder. Often pitiless and brutal, he was at other times frank, affable and even good humoured. In 1799, he became a supporter of the Holkar family. Amir Khan's ability, audacity and fame in predatory warfare marked him out as a fit auxiliary for Jaswant Rao Holkar.

- 1 D O A B Dastari records, Basta No 6, file No 6, letter No 19, dated Shrawan Sudhi 3, 1837, V S (9 7 1800). From Jagan Nath Rao and Lakshman Anant Rao to Maharaja Bhim Singh.
- 2 The disturbances were caused by Shambhu Nath, the Dewan of Imam Baksh.
- 3 D O A B From Daulat Rao Sindhua to Maharaja Bawa Pratap Singh dated Shrawan Sudhi 5, 1837 V S (11 7 1800) Kharita Section, GB.
- 4 Jaswant Rao Holkar, the third son of Tukoji, was born in 1778. He was full of adventure, courage and resourcefulness, but had a knack for petty brawls. During the latter part of 1797 and the early half of 1798 he remained as an exile. He then took up a roving and predatory mode of life justifying his actions on the ground that Kashi Rao was not prepared to grant him Jagir due to him for his maintenance. His success as a leader of brigands drew to his side mercenary soldiers and ambitious adventurers. Amir Khan was one of them who joined Jaswant Rao Holkar and became the supporter of the House of Holkar under him.
- 5 D O A B Dastari records File No 2 letter No 4 dated Ploigun Sudhi 6 1838 V S (25 2 1802). From Gopal Rao to Maharaja Bhim Singh.

advantage out of it. Sindhia's inadvorsatile nature, lack of sustained effort, and the punctuated mutiny of his unpaid soldiery came in his way. Though Jaswant Rao was beaten, yet he was not completely crushed. Above all Sindhia had to keep a constant vigilance upon the activities of Lakwa Dada who was creating havoc in Mewar at the time. As such, some of his forces were detained in Mewar. Perron also left for Northern India to deal effectively with George Thomas and the Sikhs. Taking discretion to be the better part of valour, Sindhia opened negotiations with Jaswant Rao but they dashed against the rock of mutual distrust.

While peace parleys were in the making Jaswant Rao routed Khandesh and Malwa to feed his roaming hordes. He reduced Ratlam and the adjoining territory to mere shambles and so Daulat Rao, once again, opted to resume offensive against him.

Feeling no prospect of gain in Malwa he proceeded towards Mewar. He was hotly pursued by Sindhia's generals, Sada Sheo Rao and Baley Rao and so he retreated towards Nathdwara.¹ Daulat Rao Sindhia asked Sawai Pratap Singh to despatch his troops to Nathdwara to join his own troops.² He also asked Maharaja Bhim Singh to help his generals.³ He informed Sindhia that if Holkar turned up at Jodhpur he would send his army to check him from advancing further.⁴ Holkar came to Nathdwara⁵ and encamped near the vicinity of the holy temple, with malicious intentions. The high priest, Goswami Damodarpji, deputed Singhyi Moti Chand

1 D O A B Dastari Records File No. 6, letter No. 23 dated Magh Sudi 3, 1803 V.S. (5.2.1802). From Daulat Rao Sindhia to Maharaja Bhim Singh.

2 D O A B : From Daulat Rao Sindhia to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Magh Sudi 4, 1803 V.S. (6.2.1802). Khazana Section G15.

3 D O A B Jodhpur Records Ardi Bahi No. 4, Folio 53 B. From Maharaja Bhim Singh to Daulat Rao Sindhia, dated First Pithoon Sudi 10, 1803 V.S. (10.2.1802).

4 D O A B Dastari Records File No. 6 letter No. 20 dated Baisakh Sudi 6, 1803 V.S. (23.4.1802). From Daulat Rao Sindhia to Maharaja Bhim Singh.

5 He marched from Malwa through Dhar Amjheta Dilulda Pratapgarh, Narsinghera, Prinsaps p. 149.

to appease Holkar and save the sacred place¹. The Goswami appealed for help to Maharana Bhim Singh also who deputed an escort for the purpose². The Goswami as such removed the idols and despatched them to Udaipur. The escort had an encounter with Holkar's forces but reached Udaipur and delivered the idols to the Maharana. Having been baulked of the spoils, Jaswant Rao Holkar made good the loss by plundering Nathdwara town. He demanded a contribution of ten lakhs from its citizens for restoring peace. Kankroli and the city of Nathdwara became the scene of plunder³. He indiscriminately ransacked holy and temporal places. Holkar exacted Rs 35,000 from Kankroli and Rs 40,000 from Nathdwara⁴. He proceeded towards Lawa. Holkar got scared of the guns fired by the chief of Lawa. He was forced to take the route to Banera and then marched to Shahpura which he reached in February, 1802⁵. After levying contributions from both the places, Holkar left Rajputana⁶. Baley Rao and Sadashio Rao who had been pursuing him renounced it, turned towards Mewar and demanded contribution. Udaipur was helpless and so Kishore Dass sought the help of Maharaja Bhim Singh of Jodhpur promising to help

1 D O A B From Goswami Girdharji to Maharana Bhim Singh, dated Magh Sudi 6 1858 V S (8 2 1802)

2 Kalayan Singh Jhala, Vijay Singh Chauhan of Kunthava, Rathor Jagat Singh of Agarja Ajit Singh Bhati of Moy, Eklings Das Bolya and Jamadar Nathu Sindhi were sent Ojha, *Rajputana Ka Itihasa*, Vol III, p 1002

3 D O A B From Goswami Girdharji to Maharana Bhim Singh, Dated Magh Sudi 6 1858 V S (8 2 1802)

4 Nitamow English translation of Waqai-i-Holkar, Folio 101 B According to Ojha Holkar enforced his demand of several lakhs as war indemnity, Vol III p 1002

5 D O A B From Jaswant Rao Holkar to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh dated Magh 1858 V S (10 1 1802 to 17 2 1802), Khurda Section, Indore Bundle

6 Jaswant Rao then, turned towards Tonk and plundered it. Continuing his predatory activities he reached Umara and then moved to Indragarh. He received Peshkash some presents from these two principalities and moved to Kota. He demanded 11 reel lakhs of rupees from Zafar Singh who promised to pay him only a lakh; provided his troops refrained from plundering the country (P R C, Vol IX, dated Feb 23 1802). Malcolm mentions a sum of seven lakhs being paid by Zafar Singh (Malcolm Memoirs of Central India, Vol I, p. 222). Holkar reached Maheshwar by the end of March, 1802

him in return for subduing the internal quarrels¹. Another letter was sent for immediate help² but it could not be provided. The Maharana paid 3 lakhs of rupees by the sale of household goods and jewels³.

Mewar was thus in a chaotic condition. The desire of the Rajputs to give short shrift to the Marathas found favour with Mauji Ram Mehta, the Dewan of Mewar. He planned to reorganise his army on the European pattern, well dressed and more disciplined, and made the nobles contribute towards this extra burden on the exchequer. This did not suit them. The nobles demoted him to the post of Deputy Dewan and appointed Sati Das Gandhi in his place.

This move of the Rajputs was a threat to the supremacy of Sindhia in Mewar. He took steps to frustrate it. Balay Rao Ingla was sent from Kota to Mewar to crush the Chundawuts who were the exponents of this policy. He imprisoned Devi Chand Mehta, the late Minister, and demanded the surrender of Mauji Ram. The Maharana refused to acquiesce in such an humiliating proposition. Balay Rao thought of using force to execute his designs. But the tables were turned upon him. Mauji Ram succeeded in arresting him⁴. The position of the Maharana became highly embarrassing. He knew that the arrest of the Maratha general would inflame Sindhia and cause the ruin of Mewar. He also realised that if the Maratha sardars were released, civil war would result. To get out of this vicious circle, he asked Maharao Ummed Singh to send Zalim Singh to help him⁵. For Zalim Singh it was an opportunity for crushing the Chundawuts, his rivals, and pleasing Daulat Rao Sindhia by effecting the release of the Marathas. Zalim Singh came to Mewar with his forces. He received a secret message

1 D.O.A.B. Dastari Records, Basta No. 3, File No. 4 letter No. 5 dated Phalgun Sudi 5 1803 V.S. (12.2.1803) From Kishore Das to Maharaja Bhim Singh.

2 D.O.A.B. Dastari Records, Basta No. 3, File No. 4 letter No. 1 dated Phalgun Sudi 7, 1803 V.S. (24.2.1803) From Kishore Das to Maharaja Bhim Singh.

3 *Ibid.*, op. cit. 1. 362.

4 *Shajistan-e-Das* op. cit. p. 1722, Shahjura Khayat 2 p. 57.

5 A.O.K. : From Maharaja Bhim Singh to Maharao Ummed Singh dated Jaisath Sudi 1 1803 V.S.

from the Maharana. It meant that he would pose as if he were coming to fight against him under pressure from the Chundawuts but he did not mean business. After a minor show-down of arms Zalim Singh should come up with his terms which would be accepted and the Maratha sardars released.

The Maharana had a brush with Zalim's forces at Cheja Ghat. Zalim Singh met the Maharana and said that the fight would cease if the Marathas were released. The Maharana willingly acceded to this condition. Some three hundred of Zalim Singh's men were wounded.¹ The Rana ordered the liberation of Balay Rao.²

The dissensions among the Maratha generals furnished an opportunity to the Rajputs to compose their mutual differences, but their jealousies came in their way. They could not subordinate them to the over-riding objective of clearing the sacred land of Mewar of the Maratha invaders. They once again relapsed into the old rut of mutual recriminations. The political map of Rajputana was depressing enough and the depredations of Holkar in the holy shrine of Nathdwara added touches of gloom to an already murky atmosphere.

¹ A.O.K. Bhandar No 2111. Bada No 28, Toofana ka hukud, Samvat 1823.

² Tal. ep. cit. p. 262.

Supremacy of Sindhia Over Jaipur and Jodhpur (1792-1801)

The victory of De Boigne's army in the battles of Patan and Merta disturbed the balance of power in this part. Holkar realised the danger and began to strengthen himself by raising an army under Dudrence.¹ The quarrel reached its climax in the battle of Lakheri where Holkar was defeated.

For about seven years (1794-1801) Daulat Rao was busy at Poona. The interests in Rajputana were left to the care of his agents. Only De Boigne and Perron successively served him faithfully and collected the due tribute though with usual irregularity on the part of the Rajputs. The Rajputs did not entertain it.

In 1799 the Marathas, assisted by George Thomas, invaded Jaipur and faced the Rajputs in the battle of Fatchpur. In 1800, Lakwa Dada again invaded Jaipur to realise the arrears of tribute. Sawai Pratap Singh made elaborate preparations and was joined by 10,000 Rajputs from Jodhpur. A decisive battle was fought at Malpura on April 16, 1800. The Rajputs

1. Dudrence, the Chevalier, was a native of France. He arrived in India in 1772. He obtained employment in Madras as a corps in 1780. About the year 1782 Madras retired and Dudrence entered the service of the Begum of Benares. With this lady he remained till 1794. He then entered the service of Tukoji Holkar. After the death of Tukoji he cast in his lot with Kasi Rao and carried on a campaign against Jasmant Rao.

were defeated. Within three weeks of this victory Lakwa Dada lost his position at Sindhia's court and became a rebel. General Perron came to Jaipur. Pratap Singh made peace on payment of 25 lakhs of rupees. Jodhpur also agreed to pay 12 lakhs of rupees.

The defeat of the Kachwahs and Rathors at the battles of Patan and Merta subjugated them for some time. The internal dissensions at Jodhpur and the contest for supremacy between Holkar and Sindhia at Jaipur, opened another chapter of rapine in the annals of Rajputana.

Mahadji Sindhia in his agreement with Maharana Bhim Singh had instructed Ambaji Ingria, his deputy in Mewar, to restore the pargana of Godwar to the Maharana. This disturbed Maharaja Bijay Singh. He reminded Mahadji that Godwar had been bestowed upon him for the services rendered to Maharana Ari Singh and that he had been paying the tribute regularly.¹ The tribute of Godwar and Marwar was settled at Rs. 1,50,000 and Rs. 30,000 per annum respectively. An agreement was reached for the dues in 1841 V S (8.3 1784—24.2 1785) by which the total amount of the tribute payable from these two principalities from 1835 to 1839 V S (1778 1783) was taken at 9 lakhs of rupees. Out of this two lakhs were written off² at the entreaty of the Maharaja. The rest were to be paid in cash and kind—one lakh in kind and 6 lakhs in cash. Out of six lakhs, two lakhs were to be paid immediately, 1,25,000 on Kartik Sudi 1, 1841 V S (15.10 1784), 1,25,000 on Chaitra Sudi 1, 1842 V S (10.4 1785) and 1,50,000 on Bhadra Sudi 1, 1842 V S³ (4.9 1785). The Maharaja paid half of the immediate payment and for the rest Madhav Rao was to fix up some other dates. The demand was conceded. The instalments were to be paid on Chaitra Sudi 1, 1842 V S (10.4 1785), Kartik Sudi 1, 1842 V S.

1 D O A B Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No. 4 folio 50 A & B, dated Magh Sudi 5, 1848 V S (28.1.1792). From Maharaja Bijay Singh to Mahadji Sindhia.

2 D O A B Dastari Records Basta No. 6 file No. 6, letter No. 47, dated Baisakh Sudi 13, 1841 V S (3.5 1784). From Madhav Rao Gangedhar to Maharaja Bijay Singh.

3 Ibid.

(3 11 1785) and Chaitra Sudi 1, 1843 V S¹ (30 3 1786) Maharaja Bijay Singh wrote another letter to Abhaji impressing upon him that a letter should be sent to Ambaji Ingha so as to desist him from invading Godwar². But this could not be achieved under the existing circumstances. On the other hand, the all-absorbing activities of Ambaji in Mewar, and then later on, in the affairs of the northern India, could not enable him to give his attention. Godwar thus remained under the possession of Marwar. The attempts of Maharana to remove this cicatrice even with the help of the Maratha generals could not bear fruit.

When Marwar was thus busy for the possession of Godwar, the divided loyalties of the sardars confused the atmosphere. During the last years of his life Maharaja Bijay Singh was under the complete control of his concubine, Gulab Rai. The administration was attuned to her liking³. After the death of her son, Tej Singh⁴ she treated Man Singh as her adopted son. Owing to her persuasion, the Maharaja appointed Sher Singh as his heir,⁵ leaving aside the claims of Zalim Singh, his eldest surviving son. Zalim Singh left Jodhpur to visit Mahadji Sindhia⁶. The rights of primogeniture would have brought ruin to Marwar, but due to the preoccupations of Mahadji at Poona the land was spared the ordeal. Zalim Singh, being disappointed in Mahadji, took the sardars into his confidence. He began creating disturbances in Marwar⁷. The Maharaja asked Mahadji to help

1 D O A B : Dastari Records, Bastia No 6 letter No 46, dated Bhadra Budi 2, 1841 V S (3 8 1784) From Madhav Rao to Maharaja Bijay Singh.

2 (a) D O A B : Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No 4 folio 66 B dated Magh Sudi 5 1848 V S (28 1 1792) From Maharaja Bijay Singh to Abhaji Chittanavaz.

(b) D O A B : Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No 4 folio 50 A and B, dated Magh Sudi 3, 1848 V S (26 1 1792) From Maharaja Bijay Singh to Mahadji Sindhia.

3 Parasnis, *op cit*, Lokhank No 20, p 58.

4 Tej Singh died in 1793.

5 D O A B : Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No 4 folio 48 B and 49 A dated Posh Hudi 10 1848 V S (20 12 1791) From Maharaja Bijay Singh to Mahadji Sindhia.

6 *Ibid*.

7 D O A B : Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No 4, Folio 67 B, dated Posh Hudi 11, 1848 V S (21 12 1791) From Maharaja Bijay Singh to Mahadji Sindhia.

him in subduing the revolt ¹ But again, Mahadji was helpless At last, at the persuasion of Shah Mal, Zahm Singh was presented before the Maharaja He enfeoffed him with the rich district of Godwar ² Even this nominal transfer to Zahm Singh was unpalatable to her and she continued favouring the accession of Man Singh The chieftains espoused the cause of Bhim Singh ³ While these insensate scrambles for power were stultifying Marwar, Gulab Rai was assassinated The Maharaja could not sustain it for long He also breathed his last within a year on Asadh Budi 14, 1849 V S ⁴ (8 7.1793) As soon as the news of the death of Bijay Singh was conveyed to Bhim Singh, he left Jaisalmere He reached Jodhpur and established his authority there But he always suspected some foul play from Man Singh So he requested Mahadji Sindhia to help him by instructing Gopal Rao Bhau and Jivaji Bakshi to come to his aid at Jodhpur ⁵ He assured Mahadji that, after being firmly entrenched in the saddle, the tribute and other impositions would be paid regularly The help of Jaipur was also sought through Khichu Gordhan Das ⁶ The help from both could not be provided Man Singh continued creating disturbances At last Bhim Singh with his own forces was able to subdue him Man Singh reached Jalor and declared himself as the ruler there ⁷ Bhim Singh asked Mahadji to depute Gopal Bhau and Jivaji Bakshi to help him ⁸ Ambaji Ingha was also contacted ⁹ In January

1 D O A B Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No 4, Folio 48 B, and 49 A, dated Posh Budi 10, 1848 V S (20 12 1791) From Maharaja Bijay Singh to Mahadji Sindhia

2 Ojha, Jodhpur, op cit, p 756

3 Son of Bhim Singh

4 D O A B Jodhpur Records Arzi Bahi No 4, folio 51 A, dated Asadh Sudi 9, 1849 V S (18 7 1793) From Maharaja Bhim Singh to Mahadji Sindhia

5 Ibid

6 D O A B From Khichu Gordhan Das to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Asadh Sudi 3 1849 V S (12 7 1793) Arziat Section, Bundle No 17

7 Marwar Khajast Vol III pp 121 122

8 D O A B Jodhpur Records Arzi Bahi No 4 folio 50 A, dated Asadh Sudi 9, 1849 V S (17 7 1793)

9 D O A B Jodhpur Records Arzi Bahi No 4, folio 72 A, dated Bhadra Budi 1 1850 V S (22 8 1793)

1794, a Maratha force under Lakwa Dada and Jivaji moved towards Marwar.¹ Lakwa Dada could not stay in Marwar for long for the untimely death of Mahadji had not only complicated the Maratha politics but brought in its wake changes that were detrimental for the Maratha generals.

The affairs at Jaipur too were also not encouraging. Hardly had the Jaipur Vakils paid one lakh in banker's bills and left the camp of Sindhia for collecting the balance,² to clear the first instalment, when Holkar knocked at the doors of the Kachwahas against his rival Sindhia for forcing the Raja to pay him also the same amount that he had agreed to pay to Sindhia.³ Sawai Pratap Singh taking advantage of the rivalry between Sindhia and Holkar made a bid to make a settlement with Tukoji Holkar to the complete exclusion of Sindhia. Sham Singh and Sardar Singh met the representatives of Holkar and the latter agreed to help Sawai Pratap Singh against Mahadji Sindhia.⁴ Tukoji even prepared himself to march and encamped at Daosa. He came to know of Sindhia's success in making the Kachwahas act to his liking.⁵ Therefore, Tukoji sent Bapuji Holkar⁶ to threaten the Kachwahas and force them to make terms with him. Bapuji played havoc. Sawai Pratap Singh deputed Roda Ram Khawas and Bakshi Mitha Lal to the camp of Holkar to restore peace. He agreed to help the Kachwahas against

1 Marwar Khayat, Vol III, pp 120-21

2 D.O.A.B. From Mahadji Sindhia to Laysk Ram and Shambhoo Singh dated Asadh Sudi 10, 1848 V 8 (11 7 1791)

3 (a) D.O.A.B. From Mahadji Sindhia to Bohra Khushali Ram and Daulat Ram dated Presh Sudi 8, 1848 V 9 (11 1 1792) Draft Khatta, B No. 21

(b) Raghubir Singh *op cit*, p 210

Sindhia was promised 17 lakhs of rupees as Marniat dues. Holkar was not given any share in the territories north of Jaipur. His title to the tribute from Jaipur was still recognised. (Malcolm, *Memoirs of Central India*, Vol I, p 132)

4 D.O.A.B. : From Shyam Singh Sardar Singh to Shambhoo Singh and Khawas Roda Ram, dated Magh Sudi 13, 1847 V 8 (16 2 1791) Khataut Akhlaaron, Bundle No. 14

5 *Ibid*

6 Cousin of Naro Gonsah, Tukoji Holkar's Minister

Mahadji Sindhia¹ and in return was to be paid Rs 17,00,001 so as to bring him at par with Sindhia²

They agreed that the money would be realised from the territories which the Jaipur Raja might mark out. It was further mentioned that five lakhs³ of rupees were to be paid to him that year and the balance would be sent later⁴. As it was virtually impossible for the Raja to fulfil his promises made to Sindhia and Holkar and, as Holkar had been staying at Daosa⁵ for getting the payment in default of which he had threatened him with dire consequences, so Sawai Pratap Singh transferred Tonk and Rampura to him. Bohra Khushali Ram⁶ successfully prevailed upon Holkar to accept this⁷. By another agreement of the same year, Tukoji promised to recall Bapuji from Jaipur⁸.

The surrender of Tonk and Rampura resulted in the weakness of the Jaipur darbar. Jaipur never missed an opportunity of regaining these parganas. One such attempt was made when the Jaipur forces captured Choru and Piplu⁹ and proceeded

- 1 D O A B From Shyam Singh Sardar Singh to Roda Ram dated Magh Budi 14, 1847 V S (22 1791) Khatut Abalkaram, Bundle No 17
- 2 (a) D O A B From Tukoji Holkar to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Phalgun Sudi 2, 1847 V S (6 3 1791), Kharita Section Indore Bundle
(b) *Ibid*, dated Jyeshth Sudi 3, 1848 V S (4 6 1791)
(c) *Ibid* dated Kartik Budi 9 1848 V S (21 10 1791)
- 3 D O A B Kapat Dwara No 329 Agreement between Holkar, Roda Ram and Bakshi Mithe Lal at Dhanwar (Morwar), dated Baisakh Sudi 13 1848 V S (16 5 1791)
- 4 D O A B Kapat-dwara No 368 From Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh to Tukoji Holkar, dated Jyeshth Sudi 3 1848 V S (3 6 1791)
- 5 38 miles east of Jaipur city. It was the capital of the Kachwahs before they wrested Amber from the Meenas
- 6 D O A B From Raja Raghupat Rao to Daulat Ram, dated Shrawan Budi 2 1848 V S (17 7 1791)
- 7 D O A B From Tukoji Holkar to Khushali Ram and Daulat Ram dated Bhadra Sudi 8, 1848 V S (5 9 1791)
- 8 D O A B Kapat dwara No 1475 From Tukoji Holkar to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh dated Shrawan Sudi 7, 1848 V S (6 9 1791)
- 9 D O A B From Rao Laksman Rao to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Baisakh Budi 13, 1851 V S (25 6 1794) Arziat Section, Bundle No 18

towards Tonk for establishing their hold on it¹ The Marathas were keen enough to maintain their interests intact and so reprimanded Sawai Pratap Singh for his action² It appears that the Marathas were able to regain the lost parganas due to the mediation of Bakshi Mitha Lal

Tukoji was satisfied for some time But Mahadji was becoming impatient to realise the dues from Jaipur He asked Thakur Pahar Singh to hand over the tribute to Ganpat Rao³ Another letter dated Phalgun Sudi 7, 1847 V S (12.3.1791) was addressed to Khawas Roda Ram and Pahar Singh to the same effect⁴ When Mahadji could not hear anything, he deputed Ambaji Inglia to Jaipur to realise it He impressed upon him the desirability of making the payment earlier The Jaipur Darbar could not execute it Ambaji was also half-hearted working to press the demands He was apprehending contest with his rival Lakwa Dada and so wanted to make use of this opportunity for winning the Raja over to his side He signed an agreement⁵ with Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh against Lakwa Dada on the following terms — (a) The Maharaja would not attach any importance to the writings of Lakwa Dada and try to repel him, (b) They would have common friends and foes

When Mahadji could not hear anything, he sent a Kharita to the Maharaja asking him to direct Bohra Khushali Ram and Daulat Ram to make the payment earlier⁶ Abhaji Raghunath

- 1 D O A B : From Rao Lakshman Rao to Gian Singh, dated Baisakh Budi 14, 1851 V S (26.6.1791), Arziat Section, Bundle No. 18
- 2 D O A B : From Rao Lakshman Rao to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Baisakh Budi 13, 1851 V S (25.6.1791) Arziat section, Bundle No. 18
- 3 D O A B : From Mahadji Sindhia to Pahar Singh, dated Phalgun Sudi 1, 1847 V S (5.2.1791) Kharita Section, GB
- 4 D O A B : From Mahadji Sindhia to Khawas Roda Ram and Pahar Singh dated Phalgun Sudi 7, 1847 V S (12.3.1791) Kharita Section, GB
- 5 D O A B : Kapat-dwara No. 964 Agreement between Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh and Ambaji Inglia, dated Baisakh Sudi 3, 1848 V S (8.5.1791)
- 6 D O A B : From Mahadji Sindhia to Bohra Khushali Ram and Daulat Ram dated Asadh Sudi 14, 1848 V S (14.7.1791) Kharita Section, GB

seconded him in demanding the balance¹ from the first instalment². But again, Mahadji got vague assurances³. Sindhia also asked Thalur Pahar Singh to pay the dues immediately⁴. But these reminders were ignored by Sawai Pratap Singh. Abhaji Raghunath threatened the Raja, if the agreement was not executed⁵. Mahadji also joined him in reminding Sawai Pratap Singh of the consequences resulting from non-payment of the dues⁶. Constant reminders poured into the Kachwaha capital⁷. At last, Khushali Ram and Daulat Ram informed Mahadji that the payment had been delayed because Tukoji had been creating disturbances there⁸ for about four months. They promised that the dues would be remitted soon.

Mahadji could not give his attention to Jaipur because of the activities of Holkar. At the request of Bohra Khushali Ram, Mahadji asked Ambaji to leave Apa Khande Rao⁹ to

1 Mahadji was paid one lakh only out of four lakhs. Hardly had the Jaipur Minister reached there for collecting the balance when Tukoji Holkar came and so it could not be paid.

2 D O A B From Abhaji Raghunath to Khawass Roda Ram dated Bhadra Sudi 7, 1848 V S (4 9 1791), Draft Kharita Section, Bundle No. 21.

3 D O A B From Bohra Khushali Ram and Daulat Ram to Mahadji Sindhia dated Bhadra Sudi 10, 1848 V S (7 9 1791), Draft Kharita, Bundle No. 21.

4 D O A B From Mahadji Sindhia to Pahar Singh, dated Bhadra Sudi 14 1848 V S (11 9 1791).

5 D O A B From Abhaji Raghunath to Bohra Khushali Ram, dated Kartik Sudi 12, 1848 V S (7 11 1791).

6 D O A B From Mahadji Sindhia to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh dated Maghar Sudi 13 1848 V S (7 12 1791), Kharita Section GB.

7 (a) D O A B From Mahadji Sindhia to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh dated Posh Sudi 4 1848 V S (28 12 1791) Kharita Section.

(b) D O A B From Abhaji Raghunath to Bohra Khushali Ram dated Posh Sudi 12, 1848 V S (22 12 1791), D K. Section.

8 D O A B From Khushali Ram and Daulat Ram to Mahadji Sindhia, dated Magh Sudi 12 1848 V S (4 2 1792), D K. Bundle No. 21.

9 Apa Khande Rao was one of Mahadji's principal chieftains and had played an important part in the conquest of Hindustan. More recently he had been engaged in the invasion of Bundelkhand but he did not get any success. Due to this failure his troops were several months in arrears of pay. His constant failures made Sindhia to distrust him. He then sought the assistance of G. Thomas in 1793.

help Jaipur in collecting tribute from Shekhawati and Mewat and make payment to Mahadji.¹ Thus the complicated atmosphere at Jaipur was the result of the rivalries of the Marathas as well as the changing values of the Darbar vis a vis Sindhia and Holkar.

The ruler of Jaipur now made a move to capture those territories which had been possessed by Rao Raja of Alwar. The Maharaja deputed Rao Chatar Bhuj² to seek the aid of Holkar in it. Holkar agreed³ on condition that half of the conquests were to be given to him.⁴ Raghupat Rao also won over Bapuji in favour of the Kachwahs.⁵ The Kachwaha forces started on Kartik Budi 9, 1849 V.S. (24.10.1792), and Tukoji agreed to join them earlier.⁶ Bapuji was sent in advance.⁷ Rani Ahalya Bai also assured him of help.⁸

The likelihood of a joint attack of Holkar and the Kachwahs alarmed the Rao Raja Bakhtawar Singh. He sent his confidential adviser, Raj Singh, to Sindhia for assistance. Sindhia assured him that he had asked the Jaipur Darbar not to harass him. He also instructed Gopal Rao Raghunath and Jivaji Ballal⁹ to that effect.¹⁰ But even after that, if the Kachwahs

1 D.O.A.B. From Bohra Khushali Ram to Anbaji Ingolia, dated Maghar Budi 14, 1848 V.S. (24.4.1791). Draft Kharita, Bundle No. 18.

2 Dastoor Komwar, Vol. IX, pp. 400-62. Samvat 1848 (1791).

3 D.O.A.B. From Tukoji Holkar and Khando Rao to Bohra Khushali Ram and Daulat Ram, dated Posh Budi 12, 1848 V.S. (22.12.1791).

4 D.O.A.B. Hajat Dwara No. 867. From Tukoji Holkar to Maharaja Sawa Pratap Singh dated June 4, 1791.

5 D.O.A.B. From Bapuji Holkar to Bohra Khushali Ram, dated Magh Budi 5, 1848 V.S. (28.1.1792).

6 (a) D.O.A.B. : From Pandit Para Rao and Khandoji to Khushali Ram, dated Kartik Budi 10, 1849 V.S. (23.10.1792).

(b) D.O.A.B. From Tukoji Holkar to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Kartik Budi 6, 1849 V.S. (21.10.1792). Kharita Section, Indore State.

7 D.O.A.B. From Tukoji Holkar to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh dated Kartik Budi 10, 1849 V.S. (30.10.1792).

8 D.O.A.B. From Ahalya Bai Holkar to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Kartik Budi 2, 1849 V.S. (17.10.1792). Kharita Section, Indore State.

9 The two generals of Sindhia at Jaipur.

10 D.O.A.B. : From Mahadji Sindhia to Rao Raja Bakhtawar Singh, dated Vasanti Budi 1, 1848 V.S. (17.6.1791).

persisted in their hostile designs, his forces would side with him¹ Sindhia secured Rs 20,000 for it with a promise of getting more at an early date²

The Kachwahas were deadly against the Rao Raja, so without caring for Mahadji, they with the Holkar's contingent laid siege to the fortalice of Ghazi La Thana in Rao Raja's territory³ After its capture, the forces laid siege to Khushalgarh⁴ A brief resistance was put up here but the fort was ultimately evacuated⁵ Tukoji Holkar joined Sawai Pratap Singh in announcing that peace was being restored to the territory by him⁶ Gopal Rao Bhau and Jivaji Ballal asked the Kachwahas not to molest the Rao Raja as he was friendly to them⁷ But the Kachwahas did not pay any attention to it Pahar Singh asked Mahadji to instruct his generals not to interfere and to punish them if they persisted in it As Mahadji was busy consolidating his power against Holkar, so he could not give any attention to it

Mahadji Sindhia retired for Poona in January, 1792 Tukoji was all the time present in Rajputana⁸ The relations

- 1 D O A B From Mahadji Sindhia to Raj Shri Suraj Kanwar Bai, dated Asadh Budi 1, 1848 V S (17 6 1791)
- 2 D O A B From Mahadji Sindhia to Rao Raja Bakhtawar Singh, dated Bhadra Sudi 7, 1848 V S (4 9 1791)
- 3 D O A B From Tukoji Holkar to Bohra Khushali Ram, dated Chaitra Budi 11, 1849 V S (18 3 1792), D K. Bundle No 21.
- 4 D O A B From Tukoji Holkar to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Chaitra Budi 11 1849 V S (18 3 1792) Kharita Section, Indore Bundle
- 5 D O A B From Tukoji Holkar to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Baisakh Sudi 2 1849 V S (23 4 1792), Kharita Section, Indore Bundle
- 6 D O A B From Tukoji Holkar to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Baisakh Sudi 8 1849 V S (29 4 1792) Kharita Section, Indore Bundle
- 7 D O A B From Thakur Pahar Singh to Mahadji Sindhia, dated Maghar Budi 3 1849 V S (1 11 1792) D K. Bundle No 21
- 8 D O A B From Rajaji to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Ashoj Sudi 1, 1849 V S (17 9 1792) D K Bundle No 21

between the two had been deteriorating constantly¹ and took a turn for the worse². Holkar inferred Sindhia's visit to Poona as a step to oust him from Rajputana³. He now clamoured for a showdown. Sindhia's generals were gaining grounds against Bapooji, so Holkar asked the Maharaja to join him⁴ in dislodging Sindhia from Rajputana⁵. Again, Bapooji requested Sawai Pratap Singh to meet his master earlier so that a common plan might be chalked out. Holkar, because of the changed attitude of the Maharaja, addressed another letter⁶ to him but Sawai Pratap Singh did not care for it. It annoyed him⁷.

1 The following factors were responsible for it —

- (a) There was no clear division of territory between Sindhia and Holkar. No plenipotentiary was appointed to collect dues from Rajputana.
- (b) Tukoji was planning to take help from Jaipur against Maladji Sindhia. Tukoji wanted to monopolise the tribute from Rajputana by forging friendship with Rajputs against the interests of Sindhia.
- (c) The dispute about Kama and dues from Alwar were already making their relations bitter and none was prepared to surrender the rights.
- (d) In 1790 the representatives of Ismail Beg, Jaipur and Jodhpur were present with Holkar while Sindhia was campaigning against the Rajput Rajas.

2 D O & B : From Jowan Singh to Pohra Khushali Ram and Daulat Ram, dated Ashoj Sudi 12, 1849 V. 5. (27.9.1792).

3 Sindhia's aim was to preserve the Maratha confederacy and the formation of one vast combination against the English who had been constantly extending their territories. This was a threat in the most unambiguous and unequivocal terms not only to the Maratha confederacy but to the supremacy of Sindhia too. Sindhia wanted to maintain it intact, as well as the general assertion of internal autonomy of individual Sardars.

4 (a) D O & B : From Tukoji Holkar to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Shrawan Sudi 1, 1849 V. 8. (20.7.1792), D K Bundle No. 21.

(b) D O & B : From Tukoji Holkar to Daulat Ram, dated Shrawan Sudi 7, 1849 V. 8. (11.7.1792).

5 D O & B : From Bapooji to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Ashoj Sudi 1, 1849 V. 8. (17.9.1792), D K Bundle No. 21.

6 D O & B : From Tukoji Holkar to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Ashoj Sudi 12, 1849 V. 8. (27.9.1792).

7 D O & B : From Tukoji Holkar to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Kartik Sudi 10, 1849 V. 9. (10.10.1792).

The rival forces of Sindhia and Holkar had a small exchange of fire at Seroul in October, 1792. The growing power of Sindhia and the constant failure of Holkar had created a sensation in the hearts of the Kachwahas and the Rathors. Pratap Singh¹ and Bijay Singh² now became inclined to support Mahadji Sindhia. Sindhia also made a move to collect the Jaipur tribute and deputed Bhaskar Rao Bhau, Jivaji Ballal and De Boigne for it³. He reminded the Maharaja of the agreement executed between them at Phulpa and asked him to remain faithful to it⁴. Sawai Pratap Singh decided to make the payment from the collections to be made from Shekhawati. It would serve him two purposes. The payment would be made and the rebel nobles also subdued. Bohra Khushali Ram and Daulat Ram Haldia from Jaipur waited upon Bhaskar Rao Bhau and De Boigne. They signed an agreement on the following terms⁵.

(a) It was stipulated that out of the tribute collected from Shekhawati, one-third would be allotted as army expenses for the Marathas, one-third as army expenses for the Jaipur army, and the remaining one-third to be adjusted against tribute payable by the Maharaja to Sindhia.

(b) A sizable army of the Rajputs would accompany the Maratha forces for collecting it and establishing the supremacy of the Jaipur Raj.

(c) The Jaipur Raja would allot half of the money to the Marathas from the amount collected as 'Nazar' from the gardars.

Having won over the Kachwahas to his side, Bhaskar Rao Bhau and De Boigne prepared to attack Holkar. They advanced against Holkar who was in the vicinity of Ajmer. Holkar dreaded

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1. D O A B From Bohra Khushali Ram to Gopal Rao Bhau and Bakshi Jivaji Ballal, dated Baisakh Sudi 14, 1849 V S (5 5 1792)
 2. D O A B Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No 4, folio 123 B, dated Jaisath Sudi 5, 1849 V S (26 5 1792)
 3. D O A B From Baji Rao Raghu Nath to Palar Singh and Khawas Roda Ram dated Magh Sudi 9, 1849 V S (20 1 1793)
 4. D O A B From Mahadji Sindhia to Thakur Pabar Singh, dated Magh Sudi 11 1849 V S (22 1 1793)
 5. D O A B Kapat-dwara letter No 885 Agreement between Bohra Khushali Ram and Daulat Ram Haldia with Bhaskar Rao Bhau and De Boigne, dated first Baisakh Sudi 7, 1850 V S (17 4 1793)

their joint attack but was forced to fight it at Lakhari in June, 1793, suffering a crushing reverse at their hands. He retired towards Kota¹. He was chased by Sindhia's forces. Holkar raided Jhalrapatan. Zalim Singh personally commanded the troops and marched to protect the parganas of Chaumahala and Satmahala². Holkar finding Zalim Singh prepared to oppose him gave up plunder. He had a cordial meeting with Zalim Singh on Kartik Sudi 10, 1849 V S. Zalim Singh saved his kingdom by his calculated moves and made Holkar leave Kota. Holkar retired to Malwa.

The defeat of Holkar decided the Sindhia-Holkar rivalry for domination over Rajputana. Mahadji was pleased to learn the defeat of Holkar and that the Kachwahas were paying the money gradually³. The Maratha forces attacked Raghogarh⁴ and Sawai Madhopur⁵. After brief skirmishes both places surrendered⁶ and had to acquiesce in the demands of the Marathas. Khushalgarh was next besieged and met the same fate⁷. Jivaji Bakshi realised the Maratha dues from the Shekhawati chiefs⁸. The Maharaja was able to pay Rs 5,10,533/14/- against the tribute due to Sindhia through De Boigne⁹. But Mahadji could not enjoy the fruits of his labour for long.

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- 1 D O A B : From Radhika Das of Sheopur to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Jaisath Sudi 10, 1849 V.S. (30.6.1793)
 - 2 A O B. : Bhandar No. 21/1, Basta No. 29. Tophkhana ke Bagad. Samvat 1854.
 - 3 D O A B : From Mahadji Sindhia to Bohra Khushali Ram and Daulat Ram, dated Ashoj Budi 3, 1850 V S. (22.9.1793), GB
 - 4 D O A B : From Raja Balwant Singh to Bohra Khushali Ram and Daulat Ram, dated Posh Budi 3, 1850 V S. (22.12.1793)
 - 5 D O A B : From Raja Balwant Singh to Bohra Khushali Ram, dated Magh Budi 10, 1850 V S. (26.1.1794).
 - 6 D O A B : From Raja Balwant Singh to Bohra Khushali Ram, dated Magh Sudi 10, 1850 V.S. (9.2.1794).
 - 7 D O A B : From Raja Ram Singh to Bohra Khushali Ram, dated Asadh Budi 12, 1851 V.S. (24.6.1794)
 - 8 D O A B : From Jivaji Ballal to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh dated Baisakh Budi 7, 1851 V.S. (22.4.1794)
 - 9 D O A B. : Kapat-dwara Yaddast bearing the seal of De Boigne Samvat 1851 (1793)

He died on Magh Sudi 13, 1850 V S¹ (12 2 1794) and with him passed away the wisdom of the Sindhia family. Daulat Rao Sindhia succeeded him.

The Kachwaha Raja cherished hopes of emancipation from the Maratha yoke. J. Pillet, a French officer in the Jaipur army, was sent to the Governor-General proposing an alliance against the Marathas. The attempt, though a failure, revealed the far-sightedness of Sawai Pratap Singh who realised the importance of British aid.²

The death of Mahadji was soon followed by the death of the Peshwa Madho Rao. The politics at Poona became a hot-bed of intrigue. Daulat Rao had to concentrate all his energies there. The affairs of Rajputana were left entirely in the hands of his generals who were jealous of each other. Due to the lack of any cementing force to co-ordinate their activities, the Maratha generals began to look for their own interests. This resulted in a constant clash between them. The Jaipur Raja, taking advantage of such mutual bickerings of the Marathas, consigned the past agreements to the limbo of oblivion.

Gopal Rao Bhau, Jivaji Ballal and De Boigne made a march towards Jaipur.³ Roda Ram, from Jaipur, sought the help of another Maratha leader Lakwa Dada.⁴ The Rajput states were also asked to help Jaipur.⁵ As there was no early response from Lakwa Dada so Mehta Malook Chand⁶ and Sawai Singh⁷ were deputed one after the other to persuade Lakwa Dada to espouse the cause of the Maharaja. Mewar was also approached

1 D O A B From Tukoji Holkar to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Phalgun Sudi 7, 1850 V S (22 2 1794)

2 Sharma History of Jaipur (Mas.), Chapter XVI

3 D O A B From Sawai Singh to Rao Shambhoo Singh and Khawas Roda Ram, dated Shrawan Sudi 15, 1851 V S (11 8 1794)

4 D O A B From Roda Ram Khawas to Lakshman Anant Rao, dated Shrawan Sudi 15 1851 V S (11 8 1794)

5 D O A B From Maharaja Balwant Singh to Bohra Khushali Ram, dated Chaitra Sudi 15 1851 V S (15 4 1794)

6 D O A B From Mehta Malook Chand to Bohra Dina Ram, dated 1851 V S (1794 95)

7 D O A B From Sawai Singh to Rao Shambu Singh, dated Bhadr Sudi 12, 1851 V S (22 8 1794)

but without success¹. As aid was not to be had so Gyan Singh was forced to sign an agreement². He agreed to pay Rs 3,08,903 as 'Fauj Kharch' and assured to send the arrears of tribute. Gyan Singh further agreed to pay Rs 4,70,000 from the tribute immediately. Out of this Rs two lakhs were to be paid by Sukh Lal, Rs one Lakh to be paid in kind, and Rs 1,26,250 to be paid in cash and the rest of the amount was to be collected from the territory of Jaipur. Besides it, they agreed that the Maharaja would pay the expenses of any forces required by the Raj, that there would be no Maratha interference in the internal affairs of the state, and that no changes would be made in the terms.

The Maharaja wanted to make use of the opportunity for subduing his rebel nobles. He sought the help of De Boigne³. Both of them agreed that the combined forces would subdue the nobles and collect Rs 3,82,745/13/ from the nine Parganas in the following manner⁴ —

(a) Bellavur	Rs 2,000/-
(b) Antardah	Rs 23,000/-
(c) Indergarh	Rs 18 875/-
(d) Unpan	Rs 45,000/-
(e) Sewar	Rs 72,300/-
(f) Toduri	Rs 40,000/-
(g) Sosurdah	Rs 15,000/-
(h) Bhilap	Rs 2,000/-
(i) Puchpahar	Rs 1,64,570/13/-
	<hr/> Rs 3,82,745/13/.

1. D.O.B. : From Shah Shiv Das to Khawas Roda Ram, dated Ashoj Badi 9, 1851 V.S. (17.9 1794).

2. D.O.B. : Kapat Dwara No. 911. Agreement between Gyan Singh with Gopal Rao Bhanu and De Boigne, dated Ashoj Badi 1, 1851 V.S. (25.9 1794).

3. (a) D.O.B. : From Mehta Chabala Ram to Khawas Roda Ram dated Bhadra Badi 11 1851 V.S. (3.9 1794), D.K. No. 931.
(b) D.O.B. : From Mehta Chabala Ram & Misser Jewan Ram to Khawas Roda Ram, dated Ashoj Badi 1 1851 V.S. (1.9 1794), D.K. No. 932.

4. D.O.B. : Kapat-dwara No. 912, dated Ashoj Badi 13 1851 V.S. (7.10 1794). Agreement signed by Nago Rao Bhaskar Rao Bahadur and De Boigne.

Out of this amount Rs 1,27,581/13/- would go towards the army expenses of Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, Rs 1,27,582 for the army expenses of the Marathas and the balance of Rs 1,27,582 to be adjusted towards the tribute payable by the Maharaja to Daulat Rao Sindhia. The Maratha forces not only realised this amount but harassed the country and practised all atrocities.

The Rajput rulers wished to throw off the Maratha yoke. But the defeat of the Nizam in the battle of Khanda at the hands of the Marathas dampened the spirits of the Rajputs, though apparently they joined in the Maratha rejoicings¹.

For some time Jaipur enjoyed peace at the hands of the Marathas. The diplomatic revolution at Poona engaged the attention of the Maratha generals. Lakwa Dada was thrown out of power as we have seen. He could not be reconciled to the inner councils of Sindhia for nearly a year. The leading Maratha generals were absorbed in a cut-throat struggle against each other. They could not attend to Rajputana. In their absence others raised their heads.

The peace of Jaipur was disturbed by George Thomas this time. He served under Apa Khande Rao. After the death of his master on June 25, 1797, his successor Vaman Rao retained Thomas but could not pay him. Thomas found the income of his sandy jagirs unequal to his expenses². The unsettled state of the Marathas made him carve out an independent kingdom for himself. Jaipur was consistently a victim of internal feuds, and so making use of this opportunity, he raided the town of Urika³ and took a ransom of Rs 52,000 for it. By the beginning of 1798 his position was very much weaker⁴.

1 (a) D O A B Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No. 4, folio 126B, dated Baisakh Budi 5, 1851 V S (20.4.1794). From Maharaja Bhim Singh to Pandit Jivaji Ballal.

(b) Jodhpur Records Arzi Bahi No. 4, folio 52B, dated Baisakh Budi 5, 1851 V S (20.4.1794) From Maharaja Bhim Singh to Daulat Rao Sindhia.

2 The jagirs consisted of Tijara, Tapuka, Ferozepur, Jhajhar and Pataudi.

3 Thirty-five miles North East of Jhunjhunu.

4 Compton, *op. cit.*, I, 145. Vaman Rao was the Maratha agent at Rowari.

Lakha Dada had ordered Vaman Rao to attack Jaipur and collect the dues¹. Vaman Rao reached Shekhawati and was busy collecting tribute there. But because of Kachwaha's resistance he was unable to realise all the dues. He therefore invited George Thomas to join him. He agreed to pay him Rs 50,000 a month. The situation at Jaipur further deteriorated when Thomas and Vaman Rao were joined by the disloyal barons of Jaipur. They took possession of Fatehpur² and started operations against the Kachwaha king.

Sawai Pratap Singh also assembled a force 40,000 strong and rushed to drive away the Marathas and Thomas from his land. A furious engagement took place at Fatehpur on February 16, 1798 between the forces of the Marathas and the Kachwahs. Casualties on the side of Jaipur exceeded 2,000 while Thomas also lost 300 men. The Kachwahs made the enemy leave the battle field³. Rodoji pursued the retreating army for thirty miles and gave it up when Thomas had cleared off the Jaipur territory. Vaman Rao made peace with the Kachwahs by accepting a sum of Rs 2 lakhs only. Thomas was contemplating another invasion of Jaipur but now Sindhia and Perron were engaged in other pressing affairs. They could not help the designs of Thomas. Letters were received from Daulat Rao Sindhia for the cessation of hostilities against the Kachwaha Raja as he did not like to antagonise him at the moment. He thought that the Kachwaha Raja would be of some help to him in subjugating his rivals at Poona. Thomas was much disgusted at the attitude of the Marathas and so made a painful retreat.

Sawai Pratap Singh was not satisfied with the peace signed with the Maratha general, Vaman Rao. He wanted to oust Sindhia completely from Rajputana. The Marathas, to him, appeared weak at the moment and therefore he attempted to form a coalition of all the Rajputs and the Maratha chiefs who were opposed to the infiltration of Sindhia's influence in Rajputana. He won over Bahadur Singh to his side¹. The Rajputs of Shekhawati were sounded. Thakur Kanwar Dev Singh,² Misser Duli Chand³ and Chait Singh Kirat Singh promised to help him⁴. An attempt was made to reconcile George Thomas too, but as he demanded the assignment of four parganas as a price for his support, so it was given up⁵. An alternative agreement was made with Ambaji for not supporting the pretensions of Lakwa Dada⁶. Ambaji seconded the plans of the Jaipur Raja out of the jealousy for the growing power of Lakwa Maharaja Bhim Singh was also requested to join the coalition. He was also disgusted with the unceasing demands of the Marathas. Bhim Singh prepared to join him⁷. Sawai Pratap Singh started from Jaipur on March 16, 1800 to repel any aggression which the Marathas might commit⁸. The forces of Jodhpur, numbering 5,000, joined him⁹.

- 1 D O A B From Bahadur Singh to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Asadh Sudi 1, 1857 V S (23.6.1800), Arziat Section, Bundle No 18, Arzi No 147
- 2 D O A B From Dev Singh to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Magsar Sudi 14 1856 V S (11.12.1799), Arziat Section, Bundle No 18, Arzi No 131
- 3 D O A B From Misser Duli Chand to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Magh Sudi 13, 1856 V S (12.1.1800), Arziat Section, Bundle No 18 Arzi No 11
- 4 D O A B. From Chait Singh Kirat Singh to Ratan Lal, dated Ashoj Sudi 9, 1855 V S (18.10.1798), Khatut Ahalkaran, Bundle No 15
- 5 N A O I F & S, April 24, 1800, Cons No 66 From J Collins to GG dated Feb 22, 1800
- 6 D O A B Kapat dwara No 993 Agreement between Ambaji Inglia and Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Baisakh Badi 3, 1857 V S (12.4.1800)
- 7 N A O I F & S April 24, 1800, Cons No 72 From J Collins to GG, dated March 21, 1800
- 8 His forces consisted of 12,000 cavalry, 12,000 infantry and 40 pieces of cannon
- 9 N A O I F & S April 24, 1800, Cons No. 73 From J. Collins to GG, dated April 5, 1800

During all this time Lakwa Dada and Jagoo Bapoo were prevailing upon Sawai Pratap Singh to make the payment¹ But his swelling ranks made him disregard the reminders of Maratha sardars Bhim Singh also abrogated the clauses of the agreement of 1791 A D² So Sindhia ordered Lakwa Dada and Jagoo Bapoo to crush all revolts Lakwa Dada marched towards Jaipur³

Sawai Pratap Singh advanced 12 kos from Jaipur to meet him⁴ The Jaipur army encamped north of the channel with the town of Malpura in their left rear Lakwa Dada took his position four miles south of Malpura⁵ He drew up his army in two lines The first line was composed of Pohlman's⁶ and Dudrence's forces occupying the right and left side respectively Behind it, a thousand yards back was the Maratha cavalry under Bapooji Sindhia This was made to guard the flanks of Pohlman's Brigade and Dudrence's forces Lakwa Dada made a surprise attack on the Jaipur army on Baisakh Budi 9, 1856 V S⁷ (17 4 1800) The attempt failed and the Marathas had to retreat⁸ The Rajput army opened a heavy cannonade and drove away the troops of Bapooji from the field When Lakwa Dada was apprised of this disaster, he immediately sent a strong detachment to support Bapooji At the same time, he ordered Pohlman and Dudrence to advance and attack the

1 D O A B : From Lakshman Rao Bahadur and Jagannath Rao Bahadur to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Kartik Budi 6, 1856 V S (20 10 1799), D K Bundle No 23

2 D O A B Distary records, file No 6, letter No 6, dated Ashoj Budi 14, 1856 V S (23 9 1793), From Jagannath Rao Bahadur and Lakshman Anant Rao to Maharaja Bhim Singh

3 N A O I : F & S, May 22 1800, Cons No 54

4 N A O I : F & S, April 24, 1800, Cons No 73 From J Collins to GG, dated April 5, 1800

5 53 miles south west of Jaipur

6 He was a native of Hanover and entered De Borgia's service in 1792 Early in 1792 he was entrusted with the command of second brigade of Porew

7 D O A B : Muta Tarik Khasrat Hindi, Humlio No 2 dated Magh Budi 14 1856 V S (12 2 1803)

8 D O A B : From Maharaja Bhim Singh to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Baisakh Budi 12, 1856 V S (21 4 1800) D K Bundle No 23.

main body of Sawai Pratap Singh's army. This was successfully done. It resulted in the dispersion of the Rajputs after a short conflict. Sawai Pratap Singh reached Jaipur leaving behind much equipment to be plundered by the Marathas¹. The defeat did not subdue him and he planned fresh attack with Bhim Singh. The Rajputs were tired of the constant warfare, so it was given up. The loss in killed and wounded was considerable in the Kachwaha camp. Besides it, 50 pieces of ordnances together with all the tents and baggage had been captured by the Marathas².

At a time when Lakwa Dada could have forced Jaipur and Jodhpur to accept his terms, a diplomatic revolution took place at the court of Sindhia. Baloba Tantiya, the Dewan, and a patron of Lakwa Dada, was arrested on April 27, 1800. Orders were issued the same day for the arrest of Lakwa Dada too. Lakwa Dada left the Maratha camp on May 5, 1800 and accompanied by Jagoo Bapoo fled towards Ajmer³.

Ambaji Inglia was appointed in his place. He was directed to act in concert with Perron, expel Lakwa Dada from Rajputana and realise the dues from Jaipur and Jodhpur⁴. Daulat Rao Sindhia apprised Sawai Pratap Singh of Perron's appointment for realising the tribute⁵. By another Kharita he forbade him to give any shelter to Jagoo Bapoo and Lakwa Dada⁶. Maharaja Bhim Singh was also instructed to act according to

1 D O A B From Maharaja Bhim Singh to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Jaisath Budi 7, 1856, V S (15 5 1800), D K Bundle No 23

2 N A O I F & S, May 22, 1800, Cons No 54 From J Collins to GG, dated April 21, 1800

3 N A O I F & S, May 22 1800, Cons No 59 From J Collins to GG, dated May 11, 1800

4 D O A B From Daulat Rao Sindhia to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Jaisath Budi 1, 1857 V S (24 5 1800) Kharita Section.

5 D O A B From Daulat Rao Sindhia to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Jaisath Budi 4, 1857 V S (12 5 1800), Kharita Section GB

6 D O A B From Daulat Rao Sindhia to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh dated Shrawan Budi 5, 1857 V S (11 7 1800), Kharita Section GB

the advice of Ambaji Inglia and Perron¹

Lakwa Dada attempted to win over the Jodhpur Darbar. He informed Bhim Singh of his flight and asked for the tribute². It could not be complied with as Sindhia had already instructed the Maharaja against it. Lakwa, once again, displayed his superior resourcefulness and tenacity of purpose and executed an agreement to shelter his family at Jodhpur. He, in return, shared the responsibility of defending Jodhpur against Sindhia³. He sent his family to Jodhpur while he himself marched towards Udaipur. He, unsuccessfully, prevailed upon the Rana to pay him such sums as might suffice to clear the arrears of his troops⁴. He remained there till July, 1800. His prolonged stay at Udaipur was prejudicial to his interests as Perron could intimidate the Jaipur and Jodhpur Darbars into accepting his terms.

Perron, as instructed, marched to Jaipur. He reached there after the departure of Lakwa Dada. The Maharaja deputed Mithalal to negotiate for peace⁵. He agreed to pay Rs 9,00,001—8 lakhs as tribute and 1 lakh as Darbar charges. Out of this 5 lakhs were to be paid immediately and the balance on Magsar Sudi 2, 1857 V S⁶. The Jaipur Darbar gave a guarantee for the punctual payment of the money. The Marathas also promised to evacuate the Rajput territories⁷.

1 D O A B : Dastari Records, file No 6, letter No 17, dated Jaisath Sudi 1, 1857 V S (24.5.1800). From Daulat Rao Sindhia to Maharaja Bhim Singh.

2 D O A B : Dastari Records, file No 6, letter No. 15, dated Jaisath Budi 1, 1857 V S (9.5.1800). From Jagan Nath Rao and Lakshman Rao to Maharaja Bhim Singh.

3 P R C. ix, 11.

4 D O A B : From Daulat Rao Sindhia to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh dated Shrawan Budi 5 1800 V S (11.7.1800). Kharita Section, GB.

5 N O I : P & S, May 22, 1800, Cons. No. 59. From J Collins to GG dated May 11 1800.

6 D O A B : Kapat-dwara No 959. Agreement between Mithal Lal and Perron dated Baisakh Sudi 15, 1857 V S (9.5.1800). Conception on p 241 mentions that Pratap Singh agreed to pay 25 lakhs of rupees.

7 N O I : P & S, June 26, 1800, Cons. No. 58. From J Collins to GG, dated May 14, 1800.

The battle brought to the surface the fact that Jaipur state continued as weak as she was in 1791 and could not sustain the attack of the Marathas. It made it clear that Jaipur could only be rescued from the Marathas with the help of some powerful allies. The search for allies drew Jaipur closer with the Company. Its interests were identical with those of the Jaipur Darbar. The growing power of the Marathas could be a source of danger to the Company too. As a first step the Maharaja unsuccessfully solicited protective alliance with the Company against the Marathas.

In spite of the promises of the Jaipur Darbar to pay the dues immediately nothing could be realised and so Perron once again came to Jaipur. He arrived within 14 kos of the city¹ which alarmed the Maharaja. With the approach of Perron within 5 kos to the south west of Jaipur the Maharaja sent his ministers to raise money and appease him. Perron realised only two lakhs of rupees². For the balance of 3 lakhs the Maharaja surrendered a portion of Sambhar.

After subduing Jaipur, Perron moved to Jodhpur³. His march alerted the two Maratha sardars—Jagoo Bapoo and Lakwa Dada. They wanted to save their families sheltered there. It was also their stronghold in Rajputana. They asked Bhim Singh if he had raised adequate forces for defending the country⁴. On the other hand, they tried to hammer out a compromise with Perron. They deputed Pandit Gangadhar to offer terms. They assured the Maharaja of defending the country, if the mission of Pandit Gangadhar failed⁵. Maharaja Bhim Singh, mean-

1 N.A.O.I. F & S, Dec 30, 1800, Cons. No 83 From J Collins to G.G., dated Nov 24, 1800

2 N.A.O.I. F & S Dec 30 1800, Cons. No 91 From J Collins to G.G., dated Dec 9, 1800

3 D.O.A.B. From Maharaja Bhim Singh to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh, dated Asadh Budi 11, 1857 V.S. (11 6 1800) Kharita Section

4 D.O.A.B. Dastari Records, file No. 6, letter No 9, dated Asadh Budi 5 1857 V.S. (11 6 1800)

5 D.O.A.B. : Dastari Records. Dasta No 3, file No. 24, letter No 1, dated Asadh Budi 3, 1857 V.S. (11 6 1800), From Khichu Durjan Sai to Sardar Mal

while, despatched a force under Sardar Mal Singhvi to Sambhar to obstruct Perron's march towards his country¹

It appears that the mission of Pandit Gangadhar failed and war-like preparations continued. Lakwa Dada and Jagoo Bapoo made a march of 15 kos in the direction of Sambhar and informed the Maharaja that Amir Khan's forces would be joining them very shortly against Perron². To distract the attention of Perron from Jodhpur Shambhoo Nath, a close associate of Lakwa, stirred up disturbances at Saharanpur³ and Perron had to detach forces for defeating the rebels.

Lakwa Dada marched towards Sambhar to cement his coalition with Maharaja Bhim Singh⁴. Sambhar was captured but his plans could not materialise as Perron's forces, under Louis Bourquien, were able to capture the city of Ajmer. Lakwa left Rajputana and retired to Malwa⁵. Lakwa's end seemed nearer for he was defeated a year later by Perron⁶ and was forced to retire to Mewar. Frustrated and broken-hearted, he died of a festering wound on February 7, 1802. Ambaji, who was always suspicious of some change in Sindhia's Darbar,

1 D O A B : Dastari Records, Arzi Bahi No. 4, folio 112 A, dated Asadh Budi 7, 1857 V S (13 G 1800) From Maharaja Bhim Singh to Jagannath Rao and Lakshman Rao.

2 (a) D O A B : Dastari Records file No. 2, letter No. 3, dated Shrawan Budi 3, 1857 V S (9 F 1800) From Jagannath Rao and Lakshman Rao to Maharaja Bhim Singh.

(b) N A O I : F & S, Oct. 16 1800, Cons. No. 19 From J. Collins to GG, dated Aug. 18 1800.

3 N A O I : F & S, Oct. 16, 1800 Cons. No. 12 From J. Collins to GG, dated July 16, 1800.

4 D O A B : Dastari Records, file No. 6, letter No. 11, dated Shrawan Budi 14, 1857 V S (1 S 1800) From Jagannath Rao and Lakshman Rao to Maharaja Bhim Singh, P R C ix 19.

5 Barker : *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. iv p. 173.

6 Lakwa Dada, in the meanwhile, found himself utterly devoid of men and money and retired to Pajjad to join Durjan Lal Khichi. On the way he inflicted a crushing defeat on Amir Khan's brother on November 27, 1802. The remaining army fled to Farana and joined Amir Khan. Amir Khan had his own turn now and made Lakwa suffer. With his resources exhausted Lakwa could not hold for long the two giants. He was badly beaten by Perron at Bhondha which proved nerve breaking for him and betook himself to the protection of the Maharana.

did not pursue Lakha closely, as his relations with Perron were becoming worse. Therefore, he withdrew from the campaign and marched towards Kota, from where he left for Malwa.

The Maharaja, finding himself helpless, was now forced to make a settlement with Perron. He deputed his Vakil, Khushal Chand Vyas, to offer terms. An agreement was reached by which the Maharaja agreed to pay Rs 10,50,000 towards tribute and Rs 1,50,000 towards Darbar expenses¹. The mode and dates of payment were laid down as follows² —

- (a) Rs 4 lakhs to be paid in Baisakh 1857 V S (10 4 1800 to 9 5 1800), half in cash and half in kind
- (b) Rs 2 lakhs in Asadh-Shrawan 1857 V S (June-July 1800)
- (c) Rs 2,50,00 in Magsar-Posh 1857 V S (October-November 1800)
- (d) Rs 2,50,000 in Chaitra-Baisakh 1858³ V S (March-April 1801)

The last three instalments were to be paid in cash⁴.

Having reconciled Jaipur and Jodhpur to his demands Perron marched to Ajmer where his forces were engaged in attacking it. He was able to capture it on Jaisath Budi 11, 1858 V S⁵ (8 5 1801).

Hardly had Sindhua's generals made terms with Jaipur and Jodhpur when they were called upon to suppress internal struggles in the Maratha camp. They could not attend to the affairs at Jaipur and Jodhpur for some time. Taking advantage

1 D O A B Dastari Records, Bundle Kharita 'GA', file No 6, letter No 12, dated Baisakh Sudi 7, 1857 V S (1 5 1800) From Daulat Rao Sindhua to Maharaja Bhim Singh

2 D O A B Dastari Records, Bundle Kharita 'GA', file No 6, letter No 13, dated Baisakh Sudi 5, 1857 V S (29 4 1800) From Daulat Rao Sindhua to Maharaja Bhim Singh

3 D O A B Dastari Records, Bundle Kharita 'GA', file No 6, letter No 12 dated Baisakh Sudi 7 1857 V S (1 5 1800)

4 D O A B Dastari Records, Bundle Kharita 'GA', file No 6, letter No 14, dated Baisakh Sudi 5, 1857 V S (29 4 1800) From Daulat Rao Sindhua to Maharaja Bhim Singh

5 D O A B From Loh Sahib Bahadur to Dewan Rao Chand, dated Jaisath Budi 11, 1858 V S (8 5 1801)

of it the two Rajas made up their mind to celebrate their marriages. Ummed Singh was invited from Kota by Maharaja Bhim Singh at Pushkar.¹ Sawai Pratap Singh married Abbay Kumari, daughter of Kanwar Fateh Singh, while Bhim Singh took the sister of Sawai Pratap Singh as his wife.² It was a rare streak of light in the otherwise gloomy skies of Rajputana. The two great houses appeared to have united in blood as well as in interests.

1 A.O.K. : Hbendar No. 5 Baste No. 27, dated around Jyeshth Badi 8, 1807 V.S.

2 (a) D.O.A.B. : Dastari Records Baste No. 6, file No. 2, letter No. 4, dated Phalgun Badi 9, 1806 V.S. (20.2.1802). From Gopal Rao Rajbhujpath to Maharaja Bhim Singh.

(b) Jodhpur Iti'ya ki Khatat 2, p. 123 ?

Chapter 8

Rajput States and the Second Anglo-Maratha War (1802-1805)

The opening years of the 19th century were important for both the Rajputs and the Marathas. Marquess Wellesley, the Governor-General, who had hooked Hyderabad, Mysore and Lucknow into the subsidiary system, turned his attention towards the Marathas. To stabilise peace, in India, it was necessary that the Company should draw the Maratha power under its protection. The fear of France which served as the mainspring of Wellesley's policy was a smoke-screen designed to silence his critics by playing upon their nervousness regarding French intentions.

Wellesley realised that the success of the campaign against the Marathas would hinge upon the assistance or at least the neutrality of the Rajput chiefs¹ or depriving the enemies of the attachment and resources of the state of Rajputana.² For him an alliance with Jaipur and Jodhpur would "be an asset par excellence."

Fortified by the conviction that the State of Jaipur and Jodhpur, chafing at the galling tutelage of Sindhia and General Perron, would be willing to join the system of defensive alliance, he made up his mind to proceed cautiously.³ The confused

1 N A O I GG to the Court of Directors vide letters to the Court of Directors 1805, Vol 20, dated May 20 1803

2 Martin, M Despatches, Minutes and Correspondence of Marquess Wellesley, Vol III, pp 228 29

3 Martin, *op cit*, III, 427 28

state of the Maratha affairs seemed to offer an opportunity for British expansion which Wellesley was loath to leave unused. The French phobia of the times was put forth as a handy excuse to paint his imperialism as purely defensive. The show down with the Marathas was becoming pressingly inevitable and the desire to win over the Rajput states was necessary.

With this background, Lord Wellesley contacted the two rulers through their Vahils in Calcutta. The immediate despatch of a commission for negotiating the treaty might have failed by the vigilance of Perron and Sindhia.¹ When Maharaja Pratap Singh was informed by his Vahil, Rai Ram Singh, he asked for an "explicit explanation". He desired a public engagement rather than a secret understanding,² for he could reject it if unfavourable, and thus cement the wavering faith of his loyalty towards Sindhia and Perron.

Lord Wellesley then conferred upon Lieutenant General Lake an extensive diplomatic authority to conclude treaties with the chiefs of Rajputana. G. Mercer, originally a Residency Surgeon at Hyderabad, was appointed to help General Lake.³ Letters were addressed to Maharaja Pratap Singh⁴ and Maharaja Bhim Singh⁵ and the proposals of treaties were enclosed with them.

The draft proposed that they would have common friends and foes, that in case of the commencement of hostilities with the Marathas the two Rajas would assist the British forces with their armies and resources on the lines and plans of the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces. In return, the British Government would be responsible to defend them against foreign invaders.

1. Martin, *op cit* III, 240-42.

2. N.A.O.I : Translation of a Persian letter from Maharaja of Jaipur to Lord Wellesley Vol. 49, Jan Dec, 1803, No 154 Persian Correspondence.

3. Martin, *op cit* Vol III, pp. 224-25.

4. N.A.O.I : Translation of a Persian letter from Lord Wellesley to Maharaja Bawal Pratap Singh dated July 22, 1803. Copies of issue Vol 34, Folio 83 Persian Correspondence.

5. N.A.O.I : Foreign Political and Secret July 22 1803 (see No 20 dated March 2, 1803. From Lord Wellesley to Maharaja Bhim Singh.

Obviously, the proposals were favourable to the Rajputs, for they guaranteed the independence and territorial integrity of their Kingdoms. The proposed defence could act as a check against the Marathas. The two Rajput states had hardly been independent since long. They always had to side with some imperial power to save themselves. So they were not reluctant to accept it. But before the draft could reach Jaipur, Maharaja Pratap Singh died on August 1, 1803, and his death was soon followed by the demise of Maharaja Bhim Singh on Kartik Sudi 4, 1860 V S¹ (19.10.1803).

Sawai Jagat Singh ascended the throne at Jaipur while Man Singh succeeded his late brother. Though protracted communications continued for long, but the obvious fear of the Marathas and the wavering reliance upon the pledges of the British Government dimmed the prospects. The commencement of hostilities gave it a ceremonial burial.

A short while before, the death of Janardhan Balaji, commonly known as Nana Fadnavis,² marked the triangular contest for the helmanship at Poona between Daulat Rao Sindhia, Jaswant Rao Holkar and Bajirao II the Peshwa. A truce between the Peshwa and Daulat Rao was effected by which the former promised aid against Jaswant Rao as there were hostile relations between the two. The latter agreed to assist the Peshwa against the friends of the late Nana.³ While Sindhia was away fighting the forces of Holkar in Malwa, the Peshwa took it into his hands to eliminate all those who had been his and his father's political opponents. He got murdered Vithoji Holkar⁴ which made Jaswant Rao to avenge it. He defeated the forces of the Peshwa and Sindhia in October 1802 and entered Poona.⁵ The

1 (a) D O A B. Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No. 5 Folio 2 A, dated Phalgun Sudi 13 1860 V S (9.2.1804) from Jodhpur to Daulat Rao Sindhia.

(b) Pus'ak Prakash. Vinadh Sangrahalaya Gutka No. 2, Folio 32 B.

2. Fadnavis means a public officer—Keeper of the Registers.

3 D O A B. From Jaswant Rao Holkar to Dewan Rai Chand, dated Kartik Sudi 3 1859 V S (29.10.1802) Kharita Section, Indore Bundle No. 113.

4 Brother of Jaswant Rao Holkar.

5 D O A B. From Jaswant Rao Holkar to Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh dated Kartik Sudi 3 1859 V S Kharita Section, Indore Bundle No. 116.

Peshwa fled¹ and found refuge at Bassein where the English were glad to receive him. The Peshwa agreed to enter into the subsidiary system. Wellesley had been trying to bring the Marathas into the subsidiary system but his offers of help and mediation had so long been spurned. Now ill-luck placed the formal head of the Maratha confederacy into his hands and he was determined to make the best use of it. The treaty of Bassein was concluded in December, 1802 between the Peshwa and the Company.² It was a general defensive alliance based on reciprocal protection of the territories of the Peshwa and the Company and their allies respectively.

To the Marathas, the treaty meant the annihilation of their independence which they were not ready to acquiesce in without a struggle. But even in the face of a common danger they could not sink their mutual rivalries. The English did their best to prevent a coalition and, while Daulat Rao Sindhia and Raghujī Bhonsla, Raja of Nagpur, immediately closed their ranks, nothing could persuade Jaswant Rao Holkar to join the alliance. He retired to Malwa and watched the course of events.

The attempts at peace failed and the British agent Colonel Collins left Sindhia's camp on August 3, 1803, which was the signal for war. The war operations were simultaneously carried on in the Deccan and northern India. General Lake captured Aligarh in August and was the master of Delhi in September, 1803. Agra fell in October and the final battle of northern India was fought at Laswari in November where Sindhia was defeated. On December 30, 1803, the treaty of Surji Arjungaon with Sindhia brought the war to an end. Sindhia ceded all his territories between the Ganges and the Jamuna, relinquished his rights over Broach and all land north of Jaipur, Jodhpur and Gohad. Sindhia further agreed to recognise the rights of the Rajput Rajas whom General Lake had won over to his side by signing the treaties with the Jaipur and Jodhpur Darbars in December, 1803, as we will see in the pages to follow.

1. Holkar made Warudak Rao as the Peshwa.

2. According to this treaty six battalions of infantry and proportionate field artillery were to be stationed at Poona. Peshwa agreed to give 26 lakhs of Rupees to the Company. The Peshwa agreed to refer all claims upon Cawkner and Nazim for arbitration before the English.

By a separate treaty Sindhia recognised the treaty of Bassein. For some time, the power of Sindhia was reduced in Rajputana.

These incidents, which determined Anglo-Maratha relations, were also events of major importance in the annals of Maratha-Rajput relations. A new factor appeared on the stage and the Company became henceforward a contender for supremacy in Rajputana against the Marathas. The Rajputs sought to apply the healing touch of the British power to the festering sore of the Maratha interference. The Rajputs added to the strength of the Company by adopting a posture of neutrality until one of the powers clearly established its sway over the other. This shortened the campaigns of General Lake. Henceforth, the Marathas had to pay heavily for the follies they had committed in Rajputana.

While Sindhia was thus busy against the Company, General Perron was demanding tribute from Jaipur.¹ The Maharaja had made persistent calls to Holkar to aid him against Perron. Jaswant Rao consented to it and promised to return to Rajputana² immediately after settling the Deccan affairs. Jaswant Rao took a long time and so could not render any help. The Maharaja was forced to pay an yearly tribute of 2 lakhs of rupees regularly to Sindhia.³ These demands of the Marathas became subsequently the basis for the tribute Jaipur had to pay to the Company.

The laurels gained by General Lake and the proximity to Rajputana made him feel that the Rajput states would willingly agree to an alliance with the Company.⁴ But the Rajputs were still unprepared to barter away their freedom for ambiguous assurances.

Jaswant Rao taking advantage of such a chaos among the Rajputs, tried to exploit it to his advantage. He addressed

1 D.O.A.H. From Mahara, a Maratha to Maharaja Jaswant Rao, P. 12, dated Aug. 1801, 1802 A.D. (17 to 18 2).

2 D.O.A.H. From Jaswant Rao to Maratha to Maratha, dated Mar. 1803 A.D. (18 to 19 2). Maharaja's letter, No. 112.

3 D.O.A.H. From Mahara a Maratha to Maharaja Jaswant Rao, dated Mar. 1803 A.D. (18 to 19 2). Maharaja's letter, No. 112.

4 Martin op. cit. Vol. III, 42-43.

letters to win over the Kachwaha Raja to his side. He sent Mehta Chabila Ram and Khande Rao to Jaipur¹. They entreated the Raja to think of the fatal consequences that must flow, should the English become masters. Jaswant Rao addressed a letter to Sawai Jagat Singh telling him that Raghunath Bhonsla and Daulat Rao Sindhia had taken up the task of saving the sacred land and the religion of India against the English, while he had proceeded to maintain intact the dignity of the Rajput Rajas of the North. He requested him to assemble all the Rajputs under his command and save the Hindu religion from being submerged under the ocean of Christianity². He did his best to instigate the Rajput Rajas against the alien domination and frankly maintained that these adventurers were unscrupulous and that there was no point in paying money to them³. The past records of the Marathas failed to instil confidence in the mind of the Maharaja.

Jaswant Rao Holkar again reminded him of the over-all calamity that might engulf the whole of northern India⁴. He requested him to let him recruit some forces from Jaipur for the ensuing battle against the English in saving their sacred religion⁵. But the solicitations of Jaswant Rao cut no ice with him. It appears that Jaswant Rao also tried to take Maharaja Man Singh into confidence but he, taking it to be unfavourable at the moment, did not accede to it⁶. The Rajput states relentlessly pursued the idea of keeping aloof from the Marathas and the British.

1 D.O.A.B. : From Jaswant Rao Holkar to Rai Ratan Lal, dated 1860 V.S. (9.3.1803 to 24.2.1804) Mutaffarik Kagazat, Hindi, Bundle No. 2, No. 14.

2 D.O.A.B. : From Jaswant Rao Holkar to Maharaja Sawai Jagat Singh dated Ashoj Sudi 9, 1860 V.S. (29.9.1803), Kharita Section.

3 D.O.A.B. : From Jaswant Rao Holkar to Dewan Rai Chand, Mutaffarik Kagazat Hindi Bundle No. 2, No. 33.

4 D.O.A.B. : From Jaswant Rao Holkar to Sawai Jagat Singh, dated Posh Sudi 2, 1860 V.S. (30.11.1803) Kharita Section Indore Bundle.

5 D.O.A.B. : From Jaswant Rao Holkar to Maharaja Sawai Jagat Singh, dated Magar Budi 11, 1860 V.S. (9.11.1803) Kharita Section Indore Bundle.

6 D.O.A.B. : From Maharaja Man Singh to Sawai Jagat Singh dated Posh Sudi 10, 1860 V.S. (23.12.1803), Kharita Section.

When war seemed imminent the Jaipur and Jodhpur Darbars sent their agents, Bakshi Mitha Lal¹ and Vyas Fatch Ram,² respectively, to General Lake. After long and protracted negotiations, Maharaja Jagat Singh signed the treaty on December 12, 1803, at Sirhind and the same was ratified by the Governor-General in Council on January 15, 1804. Fateh Ram Vyas also concluded his engagements with Lord Lake on December 22, 1803.³

It was also ratified by Lord Wellesley⁴ but the Maharaja withheld his signature and proposed⁵ a new set of terms more in keeping with his position as a sovereign. The changed circumstances had left this as the only alternative.

The onus of the violation of this treaty was thrown on the weak shoulders of Maharaja Man Singh. But being thoroughly acquainted with the Maratha character, he could act in no other way. Vast hordes of Holkar were lying close to Jodhpur, but the forces of the Company were stationed at a distance and could not be easily procured for the protection of the Raj. On the other hand, the very news of the conclusion of such a defensive alliance would have provided an ample reason to Holkar to attack Jodhpur. Soon after the retreat of Holkar, the Maharaja expressed a desire to conclude a treaty⁶ and even sent the original treaty ratified to the British Commander-in-chief.⁷ By this time, much water had flowed under the bridges and the repeated requests did not fit in with British policy. Maharaja Man Singh was held responsible for it by taking sides with Jaswant Rao Holkar.

The treaty with Jaipur was based on the same proposals

1. Martin *op cit* III 453-54. Ojha, Jodhpur, 2 p. 780.

2. N.A.O.I. Translation of Persian letter received December 8, 1803, Vol. 49 No. 259. From Maharaja Man Singh to Lord Wellesley.

3. N.A.O.I. Treaty with Jodhpur Cons. March 2, 1804, No. 215 A.

4. N.A.O.I. Foreign Political and Secret Cons. No. 217, March 2, 1804. From Lord Wellesley to General Lake dated January 13, 1804.

5. N.A.O.I. Foreign Political and Secret Cons. No. 56 A, June 14, 1804.

6. Martin, *op cit* IV 150-51.

7. N.A.O.I. Foreign Political and Secret Cons. No. 4, September 6, 1804. From General Lake to Lord Wellesley, dated May 1, 1804.

which were communicated to the Maharaja in July, 1803. It established a firm and permanent friendship between the two signatories. The most important articles were the fourth and fifth by which the Maharaja was committed to lend the whole of his forces to the Company in the event of an enemy evincing a disposition to invade the country lately taken possession of by the Company in Hindustan. The Company guaranteed the security of the Maharaja against all external enemies for which the Maharaja was to pay. The clauses were directed particularly against Sindhia and Holkar.

The treaty had far-reaching repercussions in the relations between the Marathas and the Rajputs. It was now the responsibility of the Company to protect the state from the attack of any hostile power. The fear of facing the English, if the Marathas cast their covetous eye on Jaipur, made their plight miserable.¹ Holkar, who was mostly feeding his armies on Jaipur money, found himself hard pressed. He was not prepared to acquiesce in changes which had been wrought so speedily.

On the other hand, Jaipur was relieved of the yearly exactions which she had been paying to Sindhia. She could make use of it in bearing the expenses of the forces of the Company when called in to maintain the state against enemy attack. She had to aid the Company with her forces, if an attack was launched on the British dominions.

A similar treaty was signed between Alwar and the Company as a reward for the services rendered by that state during the campaigns against Sindhia. The treaty was ratified on December 10, 1803. Hearing of such an alliance with the Company, Jaswant Rao addressed a letter to the Rao Raja to detach him from it.² But the Rao Raja did not care for the requests and threats of Jaswant Rao and the treaty remained intact.

Alwar was also provided with the same protection that was offered to Jaipur which saved this small state from the day to day encroachments of the Marathas. While the treaty

1. Martin, *op. cit.* IV, 115-16.

2. Martin, *op. cit.* IV, 100.

with Jaipur was thrown to the winds in July 1806,¹ Alwar continued enjoying the Company's protection because of her faithful services during the second Anglo Maratha war

When Sindhia was busy fighting the English, Jaswat Rao turned towards Rajputana. He did his utmost to win over the Rajput Rajas to his side. When his attempts failed he took to rapine and made a move towards Mewar.² He reached Udaipur and wrought havoc. The powerless Rana deputed Bakshi Bhaskar Bhau to negotiate the tribute.³ The agent agreed to a tribute of forty lakhs of rupees.⁴ It was decided that the money already taken was to be deducted as well as a compensation for the damage done to the several villages would be taken into account. A sum of ten lakhs of rupees was to be paid immediately and the rest by instalments.⁵ Holkar promised help in realising the dues from the tributaries of Mewar. Marching from Mewar en route to Lawa, he reached Bhanpura. He proceeded towards Ajmer and was busy levying contributions from the chief of Kishangarh and creating disturbances at Ajmer. The fort of Ajmer had been re-taken by Maharaja Man Singh when Daulat Ram Sindhia was busy fighting the Company.⁶ Holkar levied considerable contributions in Ajmer and unsuccessfully attempted to possess the fort.⁷ Sindhia feeling that the fort might fall into his hands informed Sawai Jagat Singh that the administration of Ajmer had been ceded to Bala Rao Ingha. He requested him to help him in quelling the disturbances caused by Jaswant Rao Holkar.⁸ The Jaipur Darbar had just concluded the treaty with the Company and

1. Banerjee *op cit*, p. 364

2. D O A B. From Shah Kishor Das of Udaipur to Shambhu Singh, dated Magh Sud 3, 1860 V S (15, 1804), *Muttasarakha Kagazat*, Bundle No. 2 No. 16

3. Satarnow. English translation of Mohan Singh's Wagar : Holkar Folio 121 B

4. *Ibid*

5. Martin *op cit* III 470-71

6. Sarda *op cit* p. 200

7. Martin, *op cit* IV, 108

8. (a) D O A B. From Daulat Rao Sindhia to Maharaja Sawai Jagat Singh, dated Posh Sud 12, 1860 V S (23 12 1803), *Kharita Section GB*

so nothing was done which might prejudice the English interests. Daulat Rao Sindhia also kept Raja Man Singh of Jodhpur informed of the activities of Holkar and begged for his help¹. The Maharaja in his letter dated first Chaitra Sudi 2, 1800 V S, assured Sindhia of it². Holkar being frightened by the likely aid that Sindhia might be getting from Jodhpur, thought it well to give up his pursuits at Ajmer.

On the other hand, with the suppression of Sindhia, Holkar alone remained outside the pale of the subsidiary system. Holkar's freedom of action was injurious to the interests of the Company. So letters were sent to Jaswant Rao Holkar to make peace as the Chiefs and Princes of all factions had done. To gain time Jaswant Rao deputed Sultan Baksh and Nauroj Ali as his envoys to the Company to arrange the terms of the treaty, but the peace project failed³.

The British intentions of deciding the issue by a battle made Jaswant Rao open negotiations with Jaipur, Udaipur and Jodhpur to lodge his family. Sawai Jagat Singh did not like to offend the Company. Udaipur had still afresh the memory of humiliations inflicted upon her at his hands. Only Maharaja Man Singh showed his willingness⁴. Jaswant Rao deputed Bhasker Bhau and Tantia Ahikar, his agents for the purpose. An agreement was reached between the deputies of the two Darbars on Magh Sudi 5, 1800 V S⁵ (17.1.1804) by which Jas

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(b) D.O.A.B. From Daulat Rao Sindhia to Maharaja Sawai Jagat Singh dated Phalgun Sudi 12, 1800 V S (12.2.1804). Kharita Section, GB.

1. D.O.A.B. : Jodhpur records, Arzi Bahi No. 5, Folio 2 A, dated Phalgun Sudi 13, 1800, V.S. (19.2.1804). From Maharaja Man Singh to Daulat Rao Sindhia.

2. D.O.A.B. : Jodhpur records, Arzi Bahi No. 5, Folio 2 A, dated first Chaitra Sudi 2, 1800 V.S. (13.3.1804). From Maharaja Man Singh to Daulat Rao Sindhia.

3. Sitarnow : English translation of Mohan Singh's Waqas : Holkar, Folio 128B and 129A.

4. Sitarnow : English translation of Mohan Singh's Waqas : Holkar, Folio 127 A.

5. D.O.A.B. : Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No. 5, Folio 107 A dated Magh Sudi 5, 1800 V.S. (17.1.1804). Copy of agreement between the agents of Jaswant Rao Holkar and Raja Man Singh.

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3. Sitamow. English translation of Mohan Singh's Waqai : Holkar, Folio 121 B

4. Ibid

5. Martin, *op cit*, III, 470-71

6. Sarda, *op cit*, p. 200

7. Martin, *op cit*, IV, 108

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1. D O A B : Jodhpur records, Arzi Bahi No. 5, Folio 2 A, dated Phalgun Budi 13, 1860, V.S (19.2.1804) From Maharaja Man Singh to Daulat Rao Sindhia
2. D O A B : Jodhpur records, Arzi Bahi No. 5, Folio 2 A, dated first Chaitra Sudi 2, 1860 V S (13.3.1804) From Maharaja Man Singh to Daulat Rao Sindhia
3. Sitamow : English translation of Mohan Singh's Waqai : Holkar, Folio 128B and 129A
4. Sitamow : English translation of Mohan Singh's Waqai : Holkar, Folio 127 A
5. D O A B : Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No. 5 Folio 107 A dated Magh Sudi 5, 1860 V S (17.1.1804) Copy of agreement between the agents of Jaswant Rao Holkar and Raja Man Singh

want Rao recognised the rights of Maharaja Man Singh on the fort of Ajmer and promised not to create any disturbances in the territory of Sambhar. Man Singh agreed to lodge his family¹ at a place of safety in his kingdom on being paid the expenses². Jaswant Rao then sent his family to Jodhpur³. He also tried to detach the Macheray Raja from his alliance with the Company, but miserably failed in his attempt⁴.

Having done this, he arrived near Jaipur and threatened it.⁵ As Jaipur had been an ally of the Company, General Lake on April 18, 1804,⁶ left for the assistance of Jaipur and asked the Maharaja to join against Jaswant Rao. The two other armies from the Deccan and Gujrat under Arthur Wellesley and Colonel Monson also converged upon him. It was not a charitable disposition of the Company to launch upon a campaign for the purpose of redeeming one of their allies, but they were motivated by considerations of security to the British Empire.⁷

Jaswant Rao Holkar, watching the advance of the armies,

1 D.O.A.B. Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No. 5, Folio 108 A dated first Chaitra Badi 14 1860 V.S. (10.3.1804) Jodhpur Raja ka Khayat 4, p. 20.

2 Sitarnow. English Translation of Mohan Singh's Waqai : Holkar, Folio 128B. It mentions that Jaswant Rao Holkar agreed to pay Rs. 40,000 and fodder worth Rs. 10,000 per mensem.

3 (a) Puustak Prakash. Vividh Sangrahaaya Gutka No. 2, Folio 32 B.
(b) *Ibid*. Folios 179 B and 180 A.

4 Martin. *Wellesley's Despatches* Vol. IV, p. 100.

5 Sardaia, *New History*. . *op. cit.*, III, 423.

6 Martin. *op. cit.*, IV, 131. Jaswant Rao had murdered three British officers—Capt. Vickers, Dodd and Ryan—in on the pretext that they were carrying on treacherous correspondence with Lord Lake. Major Colin Memoir of C.I., Vol. I, p. 326. They were murdered at Nahar Magrah about 22 kilometres from Udaipur. Fraser mentions that seven officers were murdered. Fraser. *Memoir of Skinner*, Vol. I, p. 303.

7 The power of Holkar was at once menacing to the Company as is evident when Lord Wellesley wrote to Lake: "In fact we cannot trust him with any power. Experience has manifested his treachery, rapacity and arrogant pretensions, and if we cannot reduce him we have lost our ascendancy in India." Martin. *Wellesley's Despatches* Vol. IV, p. 100, letter from G.G. in Council to the Secret Committee, June 15, 1804.

proceeded southward and besieged Aligarh. He was driven away by another battalion headed by Colonel Patrick. Aligarh was captured by the forces of Company on May 16, 1804. Lord Lake, leaving Colonel Monson with special instructions not to let Jaswant Rao Holkar advance to northern India, returned to Kanpur. Colonel Monson, without weighing the consequences, crossed the Chambal and encamped near Kota. He deputed his agent Faiz Talab Khan to Kota to seek the help of Zalim Singh.¹ Trusting in the invincibility of the British arms and his policy of appeasing all parties, he did not hesitate to help. He sent seven hundred men under Bakshi Sheo Lal to cooperate with Colonel Monson.² He extended all cordiality to Monson during his stay at Kota for four days.³ Sawai Jagat Singh also sent his army under Jeevan Ram to help the Company against Jaswant Rao Holkar.⁴ As soon as Jaswant Rao knew of it, he addressed a very strong letter to him to face consequences if he failed to recall his forces.⁵ He reminded Jeevan Ram of his unbecoming act in joining the Company against him.⁶ But all these protests failed to make any impression.

When nothing was done Jaswant Rao encamped near Garot.⁷ Monson also marched towards the South, crossed the Mukandra pass and encamped at Garot. He was informed that Holkar was lying nearby preparing for a battle. Therefore, Monson hurried back to Mukandra. A horrible engagement took place, in which Monson was roundly trounced by

1. A O K. : Bhandar No 3, Basta No 3/1, Talikon Ka Bhandar, dated Shrawan Sudi 12, 1860 61 V S

2. A O K. Bhandar No 3, Basta No 3/1, Talikon Ka Bhandar, dated Shrawan Sudi 15, 1861 V S (21 8 1804). Zalim Singh sent a contingent of troopers under Amar Singh, the chief of Palat. *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol LXIV, Part II, July-December, 1955

3. A O K. Bhandar No 1, Basta No 13 Samvat 1861 V S

4. D O A B : From Jaswant Rao Holkar to Maharaja Sawai Jagat Singh, dated Shrawan Sudi 12, 1861 V S (18 8 1804)

5. *Ibid*

6. D O A B : From Jaswant Rao Holkar to Jeevan Ram, dated Shrawan Sudi 12, 1861 V S (18 8 1804)

7. A railway station on the Kota Ratlam line of the Western Railway

Holkar Monson escaped, and was hotly pursued by Holkar¹ Monson reached Kota² He solemnly asked Zalim Singh for shelter Zalim Singh was in a fix He neither wanted to antagonise the Company, for his keen reading of the times had convinced him that the Company would ultimately come out successful against Holkar, nor was he ambitious to quarrel with Holkar as he was still a formidable force to reckon with Zalim Singh, therefore, followed the policy of blowing hot and cold in the same breath towards the Company and Holkar He supplied restricted provisions, medical aid³ to Monson and sent his troops to ensure the safety of the retreating army until it left the Mukandra pass in its rear He addressed an apologetic letter to Lord Lake⁴ for his inability to do more Thus he neither completely offended Holkar nor gave the Company a cause of complaint Monson left his surplus baggage at Kota, lightened his forces and pressed forward Monson, taking the road of Hindon and Bayana, reached Agra on August 31, 1804 Under these circumstances Monson's charge of treachery against Zalim Singh is hardly justifiable

The troops of Kota, who had joined the war on Monson's side, were scattered in ruin—their Bakhsi, Akhayram Pancholi, was taken prisoner, Afzal Khan⁵ was slain and another large numbers were either left wounded or dead on the battle field⁶ Zalim Singh asked his son Madho Singh, to distribute Rs 5,000 to the wounded and bereaved families as "Zakhmana"⁷

Holkar reached Kota in pursuit of Colonel Monson and reprimanded Zalim Singh for such a treacherous act He

1 A O K Bhandar No 3, Basta No 3/1, Talikon ka Bhandar, dated Shrawan Sudhi 9 1861 V S (31 7 1804)

2 Sitamow English translation of Mohan Singh's Waqai-i-Holkar, Folio 133 A

3 A O K Bhandar No 1 Basta No 13 Samvat 1861

4 *Ibid* Zalim did not allow Monson's troops into Kota on the plea that he was unable to provide them provisions Basawan Lal Tr, p 217

5 Brother of Anwar Khan a Minister of the Kota Raja Waqai-i-Holkar, C 131 b

6 Nearly 400 to 500 of Kota troopers were either killed or taken prisoner Sharma M L Kota Raja ka Itihasa, Vol II p 491

7 A O K Bhandar No 2, Basta No 2 1, Talikon Ka Bhandar, dated Shrawan Sudhi 1861 V S

plundered the parganas of Suket and Chechat and caused a huge plunder. The villages which were most affected were Alopa, Barakhu and Ganeshpura¹. Zalim Singh who was worried at the attitude of Jaswant Rao, wanted to get rid of him by making some payment. A meeting was arranged between the two and much of the ill feeling was removed². Zalim Singh agreed to pay him three lakhs of rupees for his expenses³. Jaswant Rao moved towards Bundi⁴ and then hurriedly left for Mathura. For the next six months his absence from Rajputana was a period of peace there.

The disorderly retreat of Monson emboldened Holkar to besiege Delhi. When he was busy there, his capital of Indore fell into the hands of Colonel Murray. Lake's advance to the relief of Delhi led Holkar to abandon the siege and move down the Doab. A part of his army faced humiliation at Deeg on November 13, 1804, and he himself was defeated at Farrukhabad four days later. The defeat of Holkar did not subdue him completely and he devised another plan to fight the Company. Lake's failure to capture the fort of Bharatpur, whose Jat Raja giving up the English alliance had joined Holkar, was of little help to him.

The failure of Lake before Bharatpur and Monson's retreat had created doubts in the minds of the authorities about the desirability of their policy followed towards the Marathas and the Rajputs. It had also shattered the fiction of British invincibility from the mind of Sindhia. Sindhia, who had helped Lord Lake with a force 10,000 strong under Bapooji

1 A O K Bhandar No 3, Hukmon Ki Talikon Ka Khata, Samvat 1861

2 D O A B : From Jaswant Rao Holkar to Maharaja Sawai Jagat Singh, dated Shrawan badi 3, 1861 V S (9 S 1804), Kharita Section, Indore Bundle

3 N V O I : F & S, June 7, 1804, Cons No 76 From J Malcolm to GG Jaswant Rao realised the last year's tribute from Kota, two years' tribute in advance and a lakh of rupees as fine for the help afforded to Col Monson by Kota. Wajai Holkar, f. 135 B

4 Jaswant Rao moved towards Bundi as Monson had recommended his guns which were struck hard in mud to the care of the Raja of Bundi who remained attached to him. Fraser, *Military Memoir of J Bkinner*, Vol II, p 9

Sindhia, showed signs of discontent Jaswant Rao took it a favourable time to come to terms with him against the Company

Jaswant Rao proceeded to Sabalgarh where Daulat Rao Sindhia lay encamped and agreed to work out a plan for their joint action against the Company with the co-operation of the Rajputs Letters of encouragement were sent to the Rajput chiefs who were dependent upon Sindhia and Holkar before the war between the Company and the Marathas¹ Roop Chand² unsuccessfully attempted to enlist Sawai Jagat Singh against the Company³ An agent was also sent to Jodhpur⁴ Man Singh was willing to join the confederacy⁵ Jaswant Rao Holkar also tried to take Rao Raja into confidence He offered to defend him against the Company⁶ But the Rao Raja who was in treaty with the Company refused to side with him⁷ The proposals met the same fate at Udaipur where the Rana did not deem it advisable to side with the Marathas whose loyalties were shifting with the passage of time Such was the bad harvest reaped by the Marathas for their deeds in Rajputana When apprehensions for a renewal of hostilities between the two Imperial powers became apparent, Jaswant Rao Holkar and Daulat Rao Sindhia again requested Maharana Bhim Singh to hand over the fort of Kamalpur in order to provide shelter for their families⁸ The Maharana not only refused the proposal but sent his Vakil Bhairon Bahash to Lord Lake, who was then at Mathura, to solicit the aid of the Company

1 N A O I F & S, July 4 1805, Cons No 24 From Jenkin's Camp to Lord Lake dated June 7, 1805

2 Vakil of Daulat Rao Sindhia

3 N A O I F & S Aug 23 1805 From W Sturrock to Col Malcolm

4 Duff History of the Marathas Vol II p 362

5 D O A B Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No 5 Folio 3-A, dated Kartik Budi 1, 1802 V S (9 16 1802) From Jodhpur to Daulat Rao Sindhia

6 N A O I F & S Oct 4 1805 Cons No 18 Translation of a letter from Jaswant Rao Holkar to Rao Raja of Macheri

7 N A O I F & S Oct 4 1805 Cons No 19 Translation of a letter from Rao Raja of Macheri to Jaswant Rao Holkar

8 N A O I F & S July 1 1805 Cons No 11 From W Sturrock to Col Malcolm, dated June 19 1805

against the Marathas¹ This was a sufficient indication of the Maharana's attitude towards the Marathas, for though the latter were lying near Mewar and the troops of the Company were at a long distance, yet the Maharana sought to win the Company against the Marathas² But under Lord Wellesley's orders the Rana was informed that the British Government had no intention of concluding defensive alliances with the native states any more³ As such, Maharana Bhim Singh could neither win over the Company to his side nor pacify the Marathas

Jaswant Rao and Surjee Rao Ghatge still favoured the continuance of war against the English Sindhia did not deem it with favour Ambaji Ingha, Sindhia's chief adviser, prevailed upon the two chiefs to divide the Kingdom of Mewar among themselves instead of fighting against the English The prospect of ready money appealed to both of them and they reached Badnor Ambaji reached Rayala⁴ He attacked Lambia and captured it The Maharana was much puzzled as to the action to be taken against the invaders He deputed Krishna Pancholi and Rawat Sangram Singh to Holkar They made a piteous appeal to Jaswant Rao Holkar saying, "Do you want to sell Mewar to Ambaji Ingha?" Holkar was moved by this appeal and even pressed upon Sindhia to give up the design of partitioning Mewar⁵ He even returned the district of Nimbahera to the Maharana

Tantia Ahkar, a minister of Jaswant Rao, proposed that Ambaji should be appointed as the *Subedar* of Mewar Every one excepting Bhaskar Bhau favoured it But the position of

1 N A O I F & S, July 4, 1805, Cons No 21 From Jenkin's Camp to Lord Lake

2 N A O I F & S, July 4 1805, Cons No 22 From Jenkin's Camp to Lord Lake

3 *Ibid*

4 Panera : From Maharaja Bhim Singh to Maharana Bhim Singh, dated Jaisath Bundi 1802 V S (27 4 1805)

5 Jaswant Rao was jealous of the growing power of Sindhia and he realised that the scheme of partition would give the lion's share to his rival, Sindhia He was also aware of the strategic importance of Mewar's strongholds He as such prevailed upon Ambaji not to harry the Pans The unusual signs of unity between the Saktawats and Chundawats sealed the project

Ambaji was far from happy Holkar, with the connivance of Sindhia, placed Ambaji under surveillance and demanded 65 lakhs of rupees from him¹. Ambaji, at his own request, was allowed to go to Kota with Amir Khan and Bapuji Sindhia to make arrangements for the payment. He succeeded in paying nearly half of the demand made upon him². After it the short-lived sanity between Sindhia and Holkar came to an abrupt end.

The tussle between Jaswant Rao and the Company had not yet come to an end. With the end of the rainy season, Jaswant Rao became restless and worried as Lord Lake intended resuming his campaign in pursuit of him, so he once again sent his family to Jodhpur,³ and hurriedly marched towards the Punjab via Ajmer and Sambhar⁴. He arrived at Sambhar on September 15, 1805. He was hotly pursued by the forces of the Company. So, he left Sambhar earlier. He reached Kandela, a town fifteen miles north of Jaipur, and leaving there a major part of his army under Amir Khan⁵ left Rajputana for the Punjab⁶.

In the meantime, Daulat Rao Sindhia made preparations for sending an army against Mewar, but so long as Jaswant Rao

1 *Waqai Holkar* f 177b

2 *Ibid* f 177b According to Tod Rs 55 lakhs were extorted from Ambaji (Vol 1, p 535). Malcolm says that Ambaji paid 56 lakhs (*Memoirs* I p 239).

3 *N A O I* F & S Sept 12, 1805, Cons No 95 Translation of a letter for Taluk Chand from Hurry Pandit dated Aug 17 1805.

4 *N A O I* F & S Oct 17, 1805 Cons No 48, From W Sturrock to Col Malcolm dated Sept 18 1805.

5 *N A O I* F & S, Oct 17 1805, Cons No 77 Translation of a letter from Raja Abhay Singh of Khetri to Capt Turnbull, dated Sept 12, 1805.

6 Ranjit Singh did not like to help Jaswant Rao Holkar as he might let loose his troops upon his Kingdom. To avoid him he politely asked him for help against his own enemies in the Punjab. Lake also demanded Ranjit Singh's support. His reply was a non-committal one. He however agreed to cause Jaswant Rao Holkar "to remove with his army to a distance of 30 Kos from Amritsar". Holkar returned empty handed. Ranjit Singh concluded an alliance with Lake and promised not to support Holkar. Atchison, Vol VII, Sardesai Vol III p 436.

was in the vicinity of Ajmer these forces could not march. Soon after his departure, Ambaji Inghia and Sadashiv Rao invaded Mewar. They were satisfied when the Maharana agreed to pay them 16,00,000 lakhs of rupees¹. It was indeed pitiful that the Maharana had nothing in his coffers to pay the Maratha chiefs and, therefore, Sada Sheo Rao was kept with Ambaji as a security for the payment². Shah Vardhaman, from Udaipur, asked Raja Hamir Singh of Banera, who was only a noble of the Maharana, to help him with some money in paying the dues of Ambaji.

On the other hand, the British authorities who were already suspicious of the advantages likely to follow from the continuance of war against the Marathas, deemed the tussle with the Marathas unfavourable at the moment in view of the renewed Anglo-French struggle and the intention of Napoleon to invade England. So they recalled their war-loving Governor-General, Lord Wellesley. Lord Cornwallis was appointed in his place to take up the task of pacifying the Marathas. But his death in October, 1805, left it to Sir George Barlow who followed in his foot-steps.

A new treaty was signed with Daulat Rao Sindhia in November, 1805, which confirmed the treaty of Surjee-Arjungaon with some modifications in favour of Sindhia. The river Chambal was declared to be the boundary between the possessions of Sindhia and the Company. The Company undertook not to enter into any treaties with the Rajput chiefs of Jaipur, Jodhpur, Udaipur and other tributaries of Sindhia in Malwa, Mewar and Marwar. A similar treaty was signed with Holkar on the 25th of December, 1805, at Rajpurgat on the banks of the Beas by which Holkar gave up his rights north of the Chambal. The Company in turn promised not to interfere with his possessions south of the Chambal. It was inconceivable for the Company now to maintain relations with the tributary states of the

1. N.A.O.I : F & S, Sept 12, 1805, Cons No 25. Translation of a letter from Hurry Pandit to Tark Chand, dated May 17, 1805. Tod, Vol 1, p. 535.

2. Banera : From Shah Vardhaman to Maharana Bhim Singh, dated Kartik Budi Amavash, 1862 V.S. (22.10 1805).

Marathas in view of the treaties signed with Holkar and Sindhia¹

The treaty with Jodhpur had not come into effect and no encouragement was given by the Company to renew it. The treaty with Jaipur was dissolved as the Maharaja had not exerted to oppose Holkar when the latter was proceeding towards the territory of the Company, after humiliating Colonel Monson²

It was a vague charge laid on Sawai Jagat Singh as the Maharaja could not help due to the absence of explicit instructions from Major General Jones. But as he was weak and the Company had determined to free herself from all undertakings, so though he persisted in maintaining cordial relations with the Company, yet all proved futile³

The Rajput States had aided the Company against the Marathas in the hope of Company's protection but now they were abandoned to the vendetta and fury of the Marathas. The short spell under the protection of the British umbrella ended. Rajputana again became the hunting-ground not only for the Marathas alone but also the ravenous hordes of Amir Khan who, having tasted blood, had his appetite for it whetted.

1 Barlow restored Tonk, Rampura and all the territory north of Bundi hills, thus abandoning the Raja of Bundi who had rendered valuable services during the fateful retreat of Col. Monson. Wilson, *History of British India* Vol. I, p. 50.

2 N.A.O. I. Persian Correspondence. Translation of Persian letter from Lord Lake to Maharaja Jagat Singh, No. 272 received dated Oct. 21, 1805.

3 N.A.O. I. Persian Correspondence. Translation of a Persian letter from G.G. to Maharaja Jagat Singh, dated Jan. 3, 1806, Copies of issues, Vol. 43.

Chapter 9

Struggle between the Rajput States and Maratha Intervention (1805-1810)

The period between 1805-10 represented a fateful phase in the history of Rajputana. Jaipur and Jodhpur were engrossed in a desperate bid to win the hand of Princess Krishna Kumari.¹ It was further aggravated by the attempt of the posthumous son Dhonkal Singh to capture the Gadi of Jodhpur. The Rajput states which had been coaxed into joining the Company were abandoned by now. They fell to the rapacity and fury of the Marathas who wanted to teach them a lesson for flirting with the Company. The atmosphere was further vitiated by the activities of Amir Khan, a ruthless and unscrupulous chief of the marauding Pindaris. He made capital out of it. His adventures resulted in the murder of Princess Krishna Kumari. This constituted one of the most macabre and bestial acts enacted on the sacred soil of Rajputana.

The pivotal character in this drama was Princess Krishna Kumari. The Princess was affianced to Maharaja Bhim Singh of Jodhpur. After his death she was betrothed to his successor, Maharaja Man Singh. Man Singh offended the Rana and therefore he offered his daughter's hand to Maharaja Jagat Singh of

1 Krishna Kumari was the daughter of Maharana Bhim Singh of Udaipur and reputed to be extremely beautiful. Malcolm, *Memoir of Central India*. Vol. I, p. 341

Jaipur¹ during the summer of 1805. This was highly resented by Maharaja Man Singh². Both the Rajas elevated this to the level of a point of honour³. The vain glory of winning the hand of the Sisodia Princess and of being promoted to the first rank of the Rajputs committed them to an irrevocable course of action⁴.

Maharaja Jagat Singh had just helped the Company under Major General Jones⁵. So he requested Lord Lake to impress upon Daulat Rao Sindhia to give his support for his marriage with Krishna Kumari, lest Sindhia on this account should again disturb his kingdom. Captain Sturrock, relying on the advice tendered by Lord Lake, asked him to delay his preparations⁶. But Jagat Singh's repeated requests could not be evaded for long⁷. Therefore, Lord Lake addressed a letter to Sindhia to that effect. He also issued a serious warning to Jagat Singh not to precipitate the matter lest he should offend either Daulat Rao Sindhia or the Maharana of Udaipur⁸. The ill conceived vision of Jagat Singh of extending his hegemony over Udaipur through the marriage would have been unmistakably opposed by Sindhia who took Mewar as the huntingground for himself alone. This union between the Kachwahas and Sisodias would have come as a road block in the way.

When Maharaja Man Singh came to know of such a move, he sent Chaturbhuj Vyas, Gunee Ram Pancholi and Deena

1 (a) D O A B Jodhpur Records, Khas Rukka Parwana Bahi No 2, folio 135 A

(b) D O A B Jodhpur Records, Kharita Bahi No 9, folio 130 B

2 (a) D O A B Jodhpur Records, Halkat Bahi No 6, folio 478 A

(b) Jodhpur Records, Kharita Bahi No 12, folio 48 B and 49 A

(c) D O A B Jodhpur Records, Khas Rukka Parwana Bahi No 6 folio 253 A & B

3 Millard Wilson *History of India*, Vol VIII, p 80

4 D O A B Jodhpur Records Kharita Bahi No 9, folio 130 B

5 N A O I F & S Dec 31, 1805, Cons No 48. From J Malcolm to N B Edmonstone

6 N A O I F & S, Dec 31 1805, Cons No 57 From J Malcolm to N B Edmonstone

7 N A O I F & S Jan 10, 1806, Cons No 42 From J. Malcolm to N B Edmonstone

8 N A O I *Ibid*, Cons. No 43

Nath to explain his attitude to the Company¹. He asked them to impress upon the Company that, if he persisted in offending him (Man Singh) he was determined to resist it². He hoped that the Company would interfere in their dispute. Jagat Singh also deputed Mitha Lal to seek the assistance of the Company³. In such a crucial situation, Lord Lake decided not to arbitrate in this dispute because it happened to be of a private nature⁴. Pandit Shitab Rai was deputed by the Jodhpur Darbar to impress upon Maharaja Jagat Singh the urgency of moderation and restraint, but his mission failed⁵. The Rajputs could not understand the underhand policy of the Company of safeguarding her interests only and leaving their allies to decide their issues themselves. The neutrality of the Company made them embark upon a policy of winning over the Maratha sardars to their side.

They chose to settle the issue by war. Sawai Jagat Singh initiated it by despatching an escort three thousand strong to hustle the Maharana into giving the hand of his daughter in marriage to him. Maharaja Man Singh, to stop it, also proceeded towards Merta on January 19, 1806, and recalled his outlying detachments⁶. Singhai Pratap Mal and Anoop Ram, collecting the forces from Parbatsar and Didwana, joined the Maharaja on Magh Sudi 8, 1862, V S⁷ (28.1.1806). Man Singh also sought the help of Ambaji Inglia. He brought a force one thousand strong to help him⁸. Man Singh also addressed a letter to Tantiya Madhav Rao asking him to bring seven to

1 D.O.A.B. Jodhpur Records, Hakikat Bahi No. 9, folio 35 A, dated Maghar Sudi 1, 1862 V S (22.11.1805)

2 N.A.O.I. : F & S. March 27, 1806 Cons. No. 42 From J. Malcolm to N.B. Edmonstone

3 N.A.O.I. F & S, March 13, 1806, Cons. No. 25 From J. Malcolm to N.B. Edmonstone, Feb. 23, 1806

4 N.A.O.I. Ibid., Cons. No. 17, dated Feb. 19, 1806

5 D.O.A.B. Jodhpur Records, Hakikat Bahi No. 9 folio 35A, dated Maghar Sudi 1, 1862 V S (22.11.1805)

6 D.O.A.B. Jodhpur Records, Hakikat Bahi No. 6 folio 457A, Jodhpur Raja Ki Khayat 4 p. 39. The date is Magh Budi Amavash, 1862 V S (19.1.1806)

7 D.O.A.B. Jodhpur Records, Hakikat Bahi No. 9, folio 48 B, dated Magh Sudi 8 1862 V S (28.1.1806)

8 D.O.A.B. Jodhpur Records, Hakikat Bahi No. 9, folio 56 B, dated Phalgun Sudi 1 1862 V S (19.2.1806)

eight thousand forces of Jaswant Rao Holkar¹ Holkar, seeing no prospect of any gain, did not respond to it favourably. The silence of Holkar did not bear the impress of great statesmanship, for he could have turned Man Singh into an ally. His policy was negative, piecemeal and opportunist and too little animated by constructive ideals.

The Maharana terrified by the forces of Jaipur in his kingdom, deputed his agents to carry the Tika for Maharaja Jagat Singh² Maharaja Man Singh wanted to proceed in person to check the ceremony, but, on being persuaded by his Bakshi Singhvi Indraj and Mehta Suraj Mal, he encamped at Alniawas³ The two generals took with them a force 20,000 strong⁴ They met the agents of the Maharana at Dhanop,⁵ a village of Shahpura Singhvi Indraj asked Raja Bhim Singh of Banera to despatch some forces for help⁶ Though the Raja had a matrimonial alliance with Jodhpur, yet he was unable to help him against his sovereign of Udaipur. He adopted a neutral attitude. A small skirmish occurred. At last, due to the intervention of Raja Amar Singh of Shahpura the Tika deputation returned to Udaipur⁷

- 1 D O A B Arzi Bahi No 5, folio 117 A, dated Magh Sudi 12, 1862 V S (31 1 1806) Jodhpur Rajya Ki Khayat 4, p. 39
- 2 (a) D O A B Jodhpur Records, Hakikat Bahi No 6, folio 457 A
(b) Shahpura Khayat 2, p. 88 The agents were Baba Daulat Singh Ranawat and Manji Ram Mehta
- 3 (a) Banera From Singhvi Indraj to Raja Bhim Singh of Banera, dated Phalgun Budi 7, 1862 V S (10 2 1806)
(b) D O A B From Raja Amar Singh of Shahpura to Ratan Lal and Rao Shambu Singh, dated Phalgun Budi 4, 1862 V S (7 2 1806)
(c) Khayat Shahpura 2, p. 88
- 4 D O A B Jodhpur Records, Hakikat Bahi No 6, f. 458 B
- 5 N A O I F & P, Jan 29, 1806 Cons No 32 From A. Seton to N B Edmonstone, dated Jan 15, 1806, Shahpura Khayat 2, p. 88 Jodhpur Rajya Ki Khayat 4, p. 39
- 6 Banera From Singhvi Indraj to Raja Bhim Singh, dated Phalgun Budi 7 1862 V S (10 2 1806)
- 7 (a) D O A B Jodhpur Records Khas Rukka Parwana Bahi No 6, folio 253 A
(b) D O A B Jodhpur Records, Kharita Bahi No 12, folio 48 B & 49 A.
(c) Shahpura Khayat 2, p. 95 gives Jaisath 1862 (V S) as its date

Raja Man Singh sought to counteract the designs of his rival by soliciting the aid of Daulat Rao Sindhia who lay encamped at Kankrowly ¹ He sent Joshi Tirlok Chand to consolidate his friendship with Sindhia ² Jagat Singh could not lag behind He also deputed Bohra Ram Kishan to Sindhia solemnly promising to abide by his advice in the matrimonial tangle Sindhia asked both the Maharajas to stop their forces marching towards Udaipur He instructed them to depute their Vakils to his camp for making a settlement ³ Sindhia, anxious to consolidate his influence in Rajputana, utilised the opportunity to his own advantage He made both the Maharajas agree to the payment of tribute due to him by them ⁴ Sindhia realised rupees two lakhs from Maharaja Man Singh through Pandit Balaji ⁵ After collecting an equal amount from Jaipur too, he persuaded the Maharana to give one daughter each to the two Darbars in marriage But it was rejected by Maharaja Jagat Singh ⁶ It made Sindhia angry So he asked the Maharana to dispense with the troops of Jaipur in the city of Udaipur This was dictated by the hostility which he bore towards Maharaja Jagat Singh Sindhia also thought that the presence of Jaipur forces would be prejudicial to his interests, as it would not make the Maharana amenable to his demands To make his demand effective he stayed at Akola ⁷ The Rana signified his resolution not to dismiss them until Daulat Rao Sindhia should return to Ujjain This offended Sindhia The Rana thoroughly guarded all the passes to his capital and prepared to oppose the advance of Sindhia's army

1 N A O I : F & S, March 20, 1806, Cons No 40 From G Mercer to N B Edmonstone, dated March 3, 1806

2 D O A B : Arzi Bahi No 5, folio 3 B dated Magh Sudi 9, 1802 V S (28 1 1806)

3 D O A B : From Daulat Rao Sindhia to Maharaja Jagat Singh dated Phalgun Budi 7, 1802 V S (10 2 1806)

4 (a) N A O I : F & S, March 20, 1806, Cons No 20 From G Mercer to N B Edmonstone, dated March 3, 1806

(b) D O A B : Dastar Records, Baste No 5, File No 6, letter No 1, dated Magh Sudi 12, 1802 V S (1 2 1806)

5 D O A B : Jodhpur Records : Arzi Bahi No 5, dated Chaitra Sudi 1, 1802 V S (31 2 1806), folio 97 B

6 P R C XI, 162

7 A village of Udaipur situated at 24° 47'. 74° 17'

towards the city¹ To intimidate the Maharana², Sindhia proceeded some seven miles on April 16, 1806, and encamped at Contalah, 20 miles from Udaipur A small skirmish followed at Debari Ghat³ between the forces of the Rana and Sindhia The Rana was defeated⁴

Sindhia was gracious in his moments of triumph He had subdued the Maharana, but he was eager to get closer to him An infructuous meeting between him and the Rana was fixed for May 5, 1806⁵ A second meeting took place at the temple of Madho Singh and, after they had exchanged oaths upon the idol of the temple in regard to the sincerity of their intentions towards each other,⁶ Sindhia made the Rana dismiss a major part of Jaipur troops⁷ Sindhia, forgetting that he was a low-born Maratha, endeavoured to obtain the Rana's consent to his own marriage with his daughter⁸ The Rana's weakness had emboldened the Maratha leader to put it The Rana could not entertain such a proposal unless driven to destitution When he was confronted with such an indignity, Providence came to his rescue He was helped to take a decision against Sindhia by the presence of Jaswant Rao Holkar Holkar's opposition to Sindhia's interests produced an altercation in the Rana's temper and he was now even against any pecuniary contribution to be paid to Sindhia⁹ Sensing the situation, Sindhia withdrew his proposal¹⁰

1 N.A.O.I F & S, May 8, 1806, Cons. No 30. From G Mercer to G H Barlow, dated April 17, 1806

2 *Ibid*

3 Debari Ghat, six miles North West of Udaipur

4 N.A.O.I F & S, May 29, 1806, Cons. No 20 From G Mercer to G H Barlow, dated May 4, 1806

5 N.A.O.I F & S, May 29, 1806, Cons. No 20. From G Mercer to G H. Barlow, dated May 4, 1806

6 N.A.O.I F & S June 19, 1806, Cons. No 34 From G. Mercer to G H Barlow dated May 26, 1806

7 N.A.O.I F & S, June 26, 1806, No 20 From G Mercer to G H. Barlow, dated May 29 1806

8 N.A.O.I F & S, June 19 1806, Cons. No 34 From G Mercer to G H Barlow, dated May 26, 1806

9 N.A.O.I F & S June 26, 1806 Cons. No 34 From G Mercer to G H Barlow, dated June 1, 1806

10 *Ibid*

Instead of antagonising the Maharana, Sindhia could have utilised the opportunity of befriending Mewar with a view to building up bulwarks against the relentless expansion of British domination. Sindhia spared no pains to alienate Mewar so much so that when the time came, Mewar rushed into the fold of British protection against Sindhia.

Sindhia's attitude, towards the Rana, was wavering. He wanted to make an honourable retreat and was looking for a favourable opportunity to execute it. The cut-throat struggle between the Kachwahas and Rathors to win over Sindhia helped him. An offer of four lakhs of rupees from the Jaipur Darbar¹ for his non interference in the marriage tangle and retiring from Udaipur was resisted by Sindhia, who equally pressed for the withdrawal of Jaipur troops too. He entertained an offer from the Jodhpur Vakils of a large sum on the part of their king,² provided he would force the Jaipur troops leave Udaipur. The Rana was hard pressed. He, at last, consented to the march of the rest of the Jaipur troops on condition that Sindhia would also remove his army to a safer distance from the capital. It was a palatable solution. Sindhia wanted to apply himself to the affairs at Poona and so left Jagoo Bapoo and Madhuj Huzure, to wait the removal of Jaipur troops and collect the arrears of tribute from the Rana.³ He left Udaipur on June 10, 1806, for Chittor.⁴ The Jaipur troops, as scheduled, left Udaipur but no progress was made by Sindhia's envoys in realising the arrears from the Rana.⁵

Sindhia, all this time, continued his march but his progress was impeded by heavy rains and mutinous troops clamouring for the payment of their arrears. Sindhia sent an urgent call

1 D O A B : From Maharaja Sawai Jagat Singh to Daulat Rao Sindhia, dated Jaisath Badi 9, 1862, V.S (451806)

2 D O A B : Jodhpur Records, Hakikat Bahi No 9, folio 58 A, dated Asadh Badi 7, 1862 V.S (761806)

3 N A O I : P & S, June 28, 1806, Cons No 34 From G Mercer to G H Barlow, dated June 1, 1806

4 N A O I : P & S, July 3, 1806, Cons No 6 From G Mercer to G. H. Barlow, dated June 12, 1806

5 N A O I : P & S, June 26, 1806 Cons No 35 From G Mercer to G H Barlow, dated June 6, 1806

to his generals at Udaipur for realising the dues from the Rana. The two sardars, finding it difficult, seized the person of some of the principal chiefs and carried them to Sindhia at Chittor, which they reached on June 17, 1806¹. Sindhia then proceeded towards Kota via Gangraha,² and Hamurgarh.³ He crossed the river Chambal on August 1, 1806. He encamped at Soonel and sent Madhaji Hezure to Kota for obtaining money from Zalim Singh.⁴ On a representation from Zalim Singh that his remaining in that position would materially impede the collection of revenues he moved to Rajghur Patan.⁵ Zalim Singh guessed that Sindhia would devastate the territory and so he held out vague promises of payment and simultaneously carried out war-like preparations. He sent his forces under Daulat Khan and Mahrab Khan, announcing it to be a hunting excursion.⁶ The neighbouring parganas were also alerted to be ready at short notice in case Sindhia attacked. The two forces faced each other for more than two weeks. Sindhia, seeing the large forces of Zalim Singh and his own inability to face them, retired to Malwa.⁷ Sindhia remained away from Rajputana for more than two years and the field was left open for Holkar to have his way.

Meanwhile, Holkar returned from the Punjab to Rajputana⁸ and this made the two Darbars sensible of the folly and danger of allowing the Marathas to meddle in their disputes. It was particularly embarrassing to Maharaja Jagat Singh, for Holkar

1 P R C Vol XI No 178 dated June 18, 1806, pp 269 72

2 N A O I F & S, July 17 1806, Cons No 1 From G Mercer to G H Barlow dated June 22, 1806

3 N A O I F & S, July 17 1806, Cons No 11 From G Mercer to G H Barlow dated June 26, 1806

4 N A O I F & S August 28 1806, Cons No 42 From G Mercer to G H Barlow dated Aug 12 1806

5 N A O I F & S Sept 4, 1806, Cons No 58 From G Mercer to G H Barlow, dated August 12, 1806

6 A O K Baste No 5, Bhandar No 3, Nand Caon Ki Ovasi Samvat 1863 (17 1806 to 19 7 1807)

7 *Ibid*

8 Frazer, J B *Military Memoirs of Lieut Col James Skinner* (Smith Elder & Co London, 1851) Holkar had retired towards the Punjab in Oct 1805, for seeking help

was also supposed to be on good terms with Maharaja Man Singh. Therefore, in spite of the war preparations in the two camps, they devised ways and means of patching up their differences. It was agreed that Krishna Kumari would not be married to either of them and also that she would not be given in marriage to anybody without their consent¹. They further agreed that Maharaja Jagat Singh would marry his younger sister to Maharaja Man Singh and that the latter would give his daughter's hand, Sirakunwari Bai, to Maharaja Jagat Singh². The proposed inter-marriages would take place at Sambhar³. The Maharaja of Jaipur signed the agreement on April 17, 1806, and handed it over to Rao Ratan Lal to be delivered to Maharaja Man Singh in exchange of a ratified copy from him⁴. By another agreement they agreed to give a free passage to the forces of each other through their territories⁵.

The presence of Jaswant Rao Holkar induced a temporary sanity among the warring Rajput chiefs. Had this ray of enlightenment dawned upon them before, the turmoil and turbulence Rajputana was subjected to would have been avoided.

Jaswant Rao Holkar arrived within 20 kos of Jaipur

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- 1 (a) D O A B Kapat Dwara No 1116, Hindi agreement, dated Asadh Sudi 11, 1862 V S (26.6.1806) No mention of addresses. Jodhpur Raja Ki Khayat 4, p 40
 - (b) D O A B Jodhpur Records, Khasata Bahi No 9, folio 35 A and 51 B
 - 2 (a) Sitamow Jaipur Records Hindi Register No 3, Vol V, P 114 (Mss)
 - (b) D O A B Jodhpur Records Khas Rukka Farwana Bahi No 5, folio 127 B and 128 A
 - (c) D O A B Jodhpur Records, Hakikat Bahi No 6, folio 478 A and 556 A
 - (d) D O A B Jodhpur Records, Hakikat Bahi No 6, folio 474 A and 474 B Jodhpur Rajya Ki Khayat 4, pp 40-41 From Jodhpur the Tika was carried by Chaturbhuj Vyas and Chaturbhuj Haldia brought it on behalf of Jaipur
 - 3 (a) N A O I. P & S, May 8, 1806, Cons No 97 Extract from an Akhbar from Jaipur dated April 17, 1806
 - (b) It is lying between 26° 53' and 27° 1' N and 74° 54' and 75° 14' E
 - 4 *Ibid*
 5. D O A B Dastari Records, Bundle No 9, File No 13, letter No 60, dated 1806 A.D

for demanding the tribute.¹ The traditional method of burning and plundering the villages was adopted.² Sawai Jagat Singh used the good office of Maharaja Man Singh to settle the amount of tribute to be paid to Jaswant Rao Holkar.³ He made his own Vakils attend Holkar's camp along with Man Singh's Vakils. On the other hand, he began collecting troops and protracting the negotiations till the commencement of the rainy season, which could enable him to adjust matters on easy terms.⁴ The negotiations failed. Holkar resumed his activities.⁵ He came to Kishangarh and demanded tribute from the Raja,⁶ while laying waste the country of Malpura.⁷ Jaswant Rao encamped at Pushkar⁸ and Maharaja Man Singh was also lying at Naad, a village near it. Cordial meetings were exchanged between the two,⁹ and it was decided that the Jaipur Darbar would pay 15 lakhs of rupees as tribute. Holkar agreed to deduct the

1 N.A.O.I. F & S, May 29, 1806, Cons No 23 From G Mercer to G.H. Barlow, dated May 4, 1806

2 N.A.O.I. F & S, June 5 1806, Cons No 53 From G Mercer to G.H. Barlow, dated May 12, 1806

3 *Ibid*

4 N.A.O.I. F & S, June 19 1806, Cons No 34 From G Mercer to G.H. Barlow, dated May 26, 1806

5 N.A.O.I. F & S, June 26, 1806, Cons No 34 From G Mercer to G.H. Barlow dated June 1, 1806

6 N.A.O.I. F & S, June 26 1806, Cons No 35A From G Mercer to G.H. Barlow, dated June 6, 1806

7 (a) N.A.O.I. F & S July 3, 1806, Cons No 8 From G Mercer to G.H. Barlow, dated June 12, 1806

(b) 55 miles south west of Jaipur

8 Town lake and place of pilgrimage in Ajmer District

9 (a) D.O.A.B. Jodhpur Records, Hakikat Bahi No 9, folio 74 B, dated Asadh Sudi 8 1862 V.S. (23.6.1806), village Naad. The Maharaja suspected that some alienated nobles were espousing the claim of Dhonkal Singh for the throne of Jodhpur against him, so he met Holkar frequently. The talks lasted up to October 23, 1806 (P.R.C. XI 203)

(b) D.O.A.B. Jodhpur Records Hakikat Bahi No 6, folio 468 A, Shahpura Khayat 2, p 97, dated Shrawan 1863, V.S. Jodhpur Rajya Ki Khayat 4, p 41. Jodhpur Khayat on pp 41-42 mentions that Jaswant Rao instigated Maharaja Man Singh, once again, to gain the hand of Krishna Kumari and possess Jaipur, but the Maharaja politely refused it as a bilateral agreement has been signed between the two.

amount of the damages done to his country from it. He agreed to pay him 4 lakhs in cash and an equal amount in articles of various descriptions.¹ The tribute was decided, but the payment was delayed. Holkar planned to proceed towards Jaipur in person for realising it.² The troops refused to march on empty stomachs.³ So great was the tumult that Holkar had to entrust the guard over his tents to Maharaja Man Singh's troops⁴ and threatened the Jaipur Vakil with dire consequences, if the amount was not paid immediately. Sawai Jagat Singh accordingly remitted bills made payable by the bankers on the safe arrival of his agents at Jaipur.⁵ This being done Holkar⁶ left Pushkar and marched towards Shahpura.⁷ Maharaja Man Singh also left Naad and came to Jodhpur.

Man Singh, in the meantime, busied himself in soliciting friendly relations with the Company, while Jaswant Rao Holkar made an overture to make a compromise with Sindhia. He asked him to meet at Shahpura.⁸ But Sindhia chose to delay it as he wanted to settle the question of Udaipur tribute with Holkar first for which he had used the good offices of Maharaja Man Singh.⁹ The good offices of Maharaja Man Singh could not effect any rapprochement between the two hostile Maratha chiefs.

1 N.A.O.I. F & S, July 31, 1806, Cons. No. 65, From G. Mercer to G.H. Barlow, dated July 10, 1806.

2 N.A.O.I. F & S, Aug. 14, 1806, Cons. No. 30. From G. Mercer to G.H. Barlow, dated July 17, 1806.

3 N.A.O.I. F & S, Aug. 21, 1806, Cons. No. 20. From G. Mercer to G.H. Barlow, dated July 29, 1806, P.R.C. xi, 197.

4 N.A.O.I. F & S, Oct. 2, 1806, Cons. No. 25. From G. Mercer to G.H. Barlow, dated Sept. 7, 1806.

5 N.A.O.I. F & S, Oct. 14, 1806, Cons. No. 24. From G. Mercer to G.H. Barlow, dated Sept. 21, 1806, P.R.C. xi, 201.

6 N.A.O.I. F & S, Nov. 6, 1806, Cons. No. 75. From G. Mercer to G.H. Barlow, dated Oct. 12, 1806.

7. (a) N.A.O.I. F & S, Nov. 27, 1806, Cons. No. 31, From G. Mercer to G.H. Barlow, dated Oct. 31, 1806.

(b) 15 miles from Umer on the main Ajmer-Jaipur Railway line.

8 N.A.O.I. F & S, July 31, 1806, Cons. No. 65. From G. Mercer to G.H. Barlow, July 10, 1806.

9 D.O.A.B. : Jodhpur Records, Arts Bahl No. 5, folio 4 A and B, dated Magh Sudi 9, 1861 V.S. (1311807) From Maharaja Man Singh to Subedar Daulat Rao Sindhia.

The dormant rivalries between Jaipur and Jodhpur again flared up with the decision of Sawai Jagat Singh to withhold his commitment of not marrying the Udaipur Princess¹ He was encouraged in his designs by his Dewan, Rai Chand, who thought of dominating Mewar too by this marriage Elaborate preparations were made to realise his ambitions² The coffers of the state were thrown open to win support Not only the Mewatis were employed but the Hyderabad Pathans, who were formerly in the service of Jaswant Rao Holkar,³ were won over Amir Khan was also approached⁴ He could not miss such an opportunity He made a compromise with Sawai Jagat Singh to uphold his cause This alarmed Maharaja Man Singh as he found himself isolated now⁵ The Rao Raja was also invited by both the Maharajas for help But, being advised by the Company, he refused to take sides⁶

They both, then, made wild attempts to win over Sindhia and Holkar Maharaja Man Singh relied upon Holkar for the asylum given to his family during his late campaigns against the Company Holkar, who was at Shahpura,⁷ was approached by Maharaja Man Singh, begging him to remain there until the attitude of Jaipur Raja should become explicit with regard to the disputed marriage⁸ Maharaja Man Singh also

1 (a) D O A B Jodhpur Records Hakikat Bahi No 6, folio 468 A, and 475 A.

(b) D O A B Jodhpur Records, Kharita Bahi No 9, folio 130 A

2 N A O I F & P, Jan 29, 1807, Cons No 94 From G Mercer to G H Barlow, dated Dec 7 1806

3 N A O I F & P, Jan. 29, 1807, Cons. No 32 From A Seton to N B Edmonstone, dated Jan 15, 1807; P R C xi, 208

4 (a) N A O I F & S, Dec 4, 1806, Cons No 58 From G Mercer to G H Barlow, dated Nov 7, 1806, P R C xi, 211

(b) D O A B Jodhpur Records, Khas Rukka Parwana, Bahi No 2, folio 3A

(c) D O A B Jodhpur Records Kharita Bahi No 9, folio 156A

5 D O A B From Maharaja Man Singh to Khushali Ram Bohra, dated Kartik Budi 13 1863 V S (8 11 1806), Kharita Section No 147

6 N A O I F & P, Jan. 15 1807, Cons No 6 From A Seton to N B Edmonstone, dated Dec 28, 1806

7 N A O I F & P Jan 15, 1807, Cons No 31 From G Mercer to G H Barlow dated Dec 14 1806

8 (a) N A O I F & P, Jan 8, 1807, Cons No 94 From G Mercer to G H Barlow, dated Dec 7, 1806

asked Kothari Ganga Ram to impress upon Holkar to join Jodhpur forces, earlier¹ But to all these entreaties Holkar gave vague and evasive replies demanding money without which he could not retain his mutinous troops, and he also wrote to Rana Bhim Singh dissuading him from encouraging the views of Sawai Jagat Singh, though he himself was not obliged to assist either party² Nothing suited the interests of Holkar more than the estrangement of the two Rajas Maharaja Man Singh again made an unsuccessful attempt³ to solicit his help more actively⁴ Holkar only deputed his Vakils—Bhaskar and Ghulam Khan, one after the other to divert Sawai Jagat Singh from going to war with Jodhpur,⁵ knowing well that the Kachwaha king would not agree until reduced to extremities The Raja impressed upon the deputations the need to keep Holkar neutral in the conflict He even sent Khushal Singh to purchase his neutrality in the event of a conflict with Jodhpur He offered ten lakhs of rupees to him, to clinch the issue, on his reaching Kota⁶ The acceptance was readily forthcoming,⁷ for the need

(Contd from previous page)

- (b) D O A B Jodhpur Records Arzi Bahi No 6, folio 103 A, dated Posh Buda 1 1863 V S (26 12 1806) From Jodhpur to Jaswant Rao Holkar
- 1 (a) D O A B Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No 5, folio 114 A, dated Magh Sudi 4 1863 V S (11 2 1807) From Jodhpur to Kothari Ganga Ram
- (b) D O A B Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No 6 folio 103 A, dated Posh Buda 1, 1863 V S (26 12 1806) From Jodhpur to Jaswant Rao Holkar
- 2 N A O I F & P, January 15, 1807, Cons No 31 From G Mercer to G H Barlow dated Dec 14 1806
- 3 N A O I F & P, Jan 22 1807, Cons No 51 From A Seton to N B Edmonstone, dated Jan 2, 1807
- 4 D O A B Jodhpur Records Hakikat Bahi No 6 folio 475 A
- 5 N A O I : F & P, Jan. 15, 1807, Cons No 6 From A Seton to N.B Edmonstone dated Dec 28, 1807
- 6 N A O I : F & P March 28, 1807, Cons No 4 From A Seton to N.B Edmonstone dated Feb 8, 1807 Jodhpur Rajya Ki Khayat, 4 p 47, mentions that at first Rs. 2 to 3 lakhs were offered to Holkar through Akhjay Chand but as Holkar refused to accept it so the Maharaja met him The amount that the Maharaja paid has not been mentioned therein
- 7 N A O I : F & P March 28 1807, Cons 29 From A. Seton to N B Edmonstone dated Feb 10, 1807

of money was badly felt in Holkar's camp Holkar moved on March 1, 1807, to Soway¹ On his reaching Kota the money was paid through the agency of Bala Ram² Holkar relinquished his right of taking sides in the conflict between the two Rajas³ and assured Sawai Jagat Singh of his help if Sindhia supported the cause of Maharaja Man Singh If the Company helped the Jodhpur Raja, he would rush to his rescue⁴ He also promised to keep his hands off Udaipur for six months The retirement of Holkar from the field left Sindhia supreme as the arbiter of the fate of Rajputana⁵

What weighed with the Maratha chiefs was their mercenary gains rather than obligations to render help to a Rajput friend in need They hesitated the least in forgetting their benefactors and joined their opponents

During the time when these negotiations were under way, Sawai Jagat Singh assumed the leadership, and set a camp on December 24, 1806⁶ He persuaded Raja Amar Singh of Shahpura to join his standard⁷ Jagat Singh also espoused the cause of Dhonkal Singh, the posthumous son of the late Maharaja Bhim Singh of Jodhpur, and his sister for the throne of Jodhpur, as a stick with which to beat the Rathor chief He offered to

1 Twenty miles west of Jaipur Holkar marched towards the Deccan, Jodhpur Raja Ki Khayat 4, p 47

2 D O A B From Jaswant Rao Holkar to Sawai Jagat Singh, dated Baisakh Sudi 11, 1864 V S (15 7 1807), Kharita Section, Indore Bundle

3 F R C XI, 209

4 D O A B Kharita Section Indore Bundle, dated Magh Sudi 9, 1863 V S (16 2 1807)

5 D O A B Jodhpur Records, Haikikat Bahi No 6, folio 475 A

6 (a) N A O I F & P, Jan 15, 1807, Cons No 6 From A Seton to N B Edmonstone, dated Dec 28, 1806

(b) D O A B Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No 5, Folio 103 A, dated Posh Budi 10 1863 V S (5 1 1807).

7 D O A B From Raja Amar Singh to Rai Chand Singh, dated Magh Sudi 12, 1863 V S (4 2 1807) Shahpura forces were sent under Rajawat Man Singh and Sahansar Singh They reached Jaipur in Posh 1803 (V S) Shahpura Khayat 2 p 101

bear all the expenses of the forces sent for help¹. The highly sanctified swearing on the bale leaf was taken to create confidence among the Rathors against any treacherous intentions. Raja Surat Singh of Bikaner who favoured Dhonkal Singh was won over². Dhonkal Singh accompanied him³. A rousing reception was accorded to him befitting his regal dignity.⁴ Many sardars of Raja Man Singh who were dissatisfied with him began abandoning his cause. The chief of Pokran⁵ and Thakur Abhey Singh of Khetree,⁶ the Shekhawat sardar, joined Sawai Jagat Singh. The betrayal of the Rathor sardars left Man Singh in a desperate state. He sent Jeet Mal, his Vakil, to Daulat Rao Sindhia for help⁷. He assured Sindhia that more than 2 lakhs of Rathors had joined him⁸. At one time, Daulat Rao Sindhia had even ordered Jaswant Rao Narain Rao Bhau to join the Raja of Jodhpur, which was an occasion for jubilation in his camp,⁹ but the news of the rapid approach of Ram Krishna Bohra, the Jaipur envoy,¹⁰ made him delay his decision. The

- 1 D.O.A.B. From Raja Amar Singh to Dhonkal Singh, dated Posh Sudi 8, 1863 VS (11 1807), No 233, Rukla, P R C XI, 210
- 2 (a) Jodhpur Rajya Ki Khayat 4, p 46
- 3 N.A.O.I. F & P, Feb 5, 1807, Cons No 128 From A. Seton to N.B. Edmonstone, dated Jan 21, 1807, Shahpura Khayat 2, p 102, says that Daroga Kushalji and Bakshi Kirpa Ram were sent to bring Dhonkal Singh
- 4 N.A.O.I. F & P, Feb 5, 1807, Cons No 127 From A. Seton to N.B. Edmonstone, dated Jan. 20 1807
- 5 (a) *Ibid*
(b) 85 miles north-west of Jodhpur city
- 6 (a) N.A.O.I. : F & P, Feb 5, 1807, Cons No 126 From A. Seton to N. B. Edmonstone, dated Jan 18, 1807.
(b) 80 miles north of Jaipur city
- 7 D.O.A.B. : Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No 5, folio 6 B, dated Posh Sudi 2, 1863 VS (10 1 1807) From Jodhpur to Daulat Rao Sindhia
- 8 D.O.A.B. : Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No 5, folio 7A and B, dated Posh Sudi 2, 1863 VS (10 1, 1807) From Jodhpur to Daulat Rao Sindhia.
- 9 D.O.A.B. : Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No 5, folio 61A, dated Posh Sudi 2, 1863 VS (10 1 1807) From Jodhpur to Jaswant Rao Narain Rao Bhau
- 10 N.A.O.I. : F & P, Feb 19, 1807, Cons No 19 A From G. Mercer to G. H. Barlow, dated Jan. 21, 1807.

arrival of the Jaipur Vakil on February 2, 1807¹ changed the situation. On the advice of Ambaji Ingolia, who had already been won over by Rai Chand,² Sindhia promised to help the Jaipur Raja.³ Ram Krishna agreed to pay him seventeen lakhs of rupees as the price for his assistance, besides a regular payment of such troops as he might need for this purpose.⁴ Sindhia felt relaxed at the offer of Jaipur. He ordered Ambaji Ingolia and Bapooji Sindhia to help the Jaipur Raja.⁵

Ambaji Ingolia marched for Jaipur on February 24, 1807.⁶ Baptist's⁷ brigade were ordered to join Bala Rao Ingolia, who had joined the Jaipur camp earlier.⁸ Sawai Jagat Singh had thus not only gained the favour of Sindhia but also purchased the neutrality of Holkar. He also brought many disgruntled Rathors under his banner.

Foiled in his attempt to seek support from any quarter, Maharaja Man Singh sent his Vakil, Fateh Ram Vyas, to the Company⁹ for the friendly intervention in the dispute. But the Company refused to mediate as long as it was not conformable to existing treaties on the part of the Company.¹⁰ Friendly mediation does not go ill with the concept of neutrality and the

1 N A O I F & S, March 12, 1807, Cons No 35 From G Mercer to G H Barlow

2 He was the Dewan of Sawai Jagat Singh

3 P R C xi 204

4 N A O I F & P Jan 6 1807, Cons No 94 From G Mercer to G H Barlow dated Dec 7 1806

5 N A O I F & P March 12, 1807 Cons. No 37 From G Mercer to G H Barlow

6 N A O I F & P March 26, 1807, Cons No 38 From G Mercer to G H Barlow, dated Feb 25, 1807

7 Baptiste Filore as he is always called was the younger son of Michael Filore. In 1802 he came to Ujjain to take over the command of the Deccan battalions left by the suicide of his brother Fidele. His forces consisted of eight battalions of infantry, 500 cavalry and 45 guns.

8 N A O I F & P Feb 19 1807, Cons No 19 From G Mercer to G H Barlow dated Jan 14, 1807

9 N A O I F & P Feb. 26, 1807, Cons No 20 Translation of letter from Raja Man Singh of Jodhpur delivered by his Vakil Fateh Ram Vyas on Feb 8, 1807

10 N A O I F & P, March 12 1807, Cons No 26 From A. Seton to N B Edmonstone dated Feb 20, 1807

Company, if it liked, could have restored peace to Rajputana, but high British officers shrouded themselves in a false glamour of neutrality. They left the Rajputs to continue their cut-throat struggle.

Sawai Jagat Singh marched to Bhambouree¹. He sent troops towards the Shekhawati² country for distracting the attention of Maharaja Man Singh³. These forces began creating disturbances in the Jodhpur country⁴ and increased Man Singh's difficulties.

Sawai Jagat Singh via Reengus⁵ and Alehsir⁶ marched to Parbatsur where Man Singh was staying⁷. Man Singh also prepared himself to fight⁸. The hostilities began on February 24, 1807, when Meda, a small fort under Man Singh, was attacked and taken by a detachment by the Jaipur army⁹. Shampoore was also captured¹⁰ and Dhonkal Singh was immediately proclaimed the Raja.¹¹ Another engagement took place at

1 (a) N A O I : F & S Feb 5, 1807, Cons No 127 From A Seton to N B Edmonstone, dated Jan 20, 1807 Jagat Singh left Jaipur in Posh 1863 (V S) with 55,000 forces and 100 guns. Shajhpura Khayat 2, p 102

(b) Eight kos from Jaipur

2 Lying between 27° 20' and 28° 34' N and 74° 41' and 76° 6' E.

3 N A O I : F & P, Jan 29, 1807, Cons No 22 and 23 From G Mercer to G H Barlow, dated Dec 27, 1806

4 (a) Banera From Maharaja Man Singh to Bhim Singh of Banera, dated Magh Budi 14, 1863 V S (6 2 1807)

(b) N A O I : F & P, Feb 12, 1807, Cons No 94 From A Seton to N B Edmonstone, dated Jan 23, 1807

5 N A O I : F & P, Feb 12, 1807, Cons No 93, dated Jan. 27, 1807

6 N A O I : F & P, Feb 19, 1807, Cons No 15 *Ibid*, dated Feb 2, 1807

7 N A O I : F & P, March 26, 1807, Cons No 26 *Ibid*, Dated Feb 8, 1807 Jodhpur Rajya Ki Khayat 4, p 46

8 D O A B Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No 5, folio 103A, dated Posh Sudi 1, 1863 V S (9 1 1807) From Jodhpur to Jaswant Rao Holkar

9. N A O I : F & S, March 19, 1807, Cons No 3. From A Seton to N B Edmonstone, dated March 1, 1807

10 N A O I : F & S, March 26, 1807, Cons No 4. *Ibid* dated March 1, 1807

11 N A O I : F & S, March 26, 1807, Cons No 37. *Ibid*, dated March 12, 1807

Goingoli¹ on March 13, 1807,² in which Man Singh's army deserted him. He therefore fled to Merta, his patrimonial inheritance³. After his departure Goingoli was plundered by Amir Khan⁴ and Bala Rao Inglia⁵. He reached Merta attended only by five hundred men⁶. He found it unsafe and so took the road to Jodhpur to mobilise his forces. He was able to muster 15,000 men⁷. He was closely pursued by Amir Khan who commanded the Pathans comprising the advance party of the Jaipur army.

Again Maharaja Man Singh sent Thakoor Das to the British Government to ask for help against the Jaipur Raja. He offered to surrender the parganas of Sambhar, Dedwana and two other districts as a reward for the support⁸. But the offer was, however, politely declined as it was not the policy of the Government to enter into any war for the sake of annexing territory⁹.

On the other hand Sawai Jagat Singh, elated with the

1 (a) D O A B Jodhpur Records Khas Rukla Parwana Bahi No 2, folio 7 A and B, Jodhpur Rajya Ki Khajyat, 4, p 48

(b) D O A B : Jodhpur Records, Khasita Bahi No 9, folio 130 A

(c) It is in the district of Parbatsar

2 N A O I F & P, April 2, 1807, Cons No 59 From A Seton to N B Edmonstone dated March 17, 1807 Shahpura Khajyat, 2, p. 104, gives the date as Phalgun, 1863 V S. The Raja of Karli who favoured Maharaja Man Singh lost his life

3 N A O I F & P, April 2, 1807, Cons No 60, Shahpura Khajyat 2 p 104, Jodhpur Rajya Ki Khajyat, 4, p 51. He reached Merta in the latter half of Phalgun

4 N A O I F & P April 7 1807, Cons No 21 Jodhpur Rajya Ki Khajyat 4 p 49

Amir Khan was won over by the Jaipur Dewan Rai Chaud by a payment of 4 lakhs of rupees

5 D O A B Jodhpur Records Haksat Bahi No 6 folio 476 B

6 N A O I F & P, April 9, 1807, Cons No 24 From A Seton to N B Edmonstone dated March 18, 1807 Mahnot Gyan Mal, Muhata Akhay Chand accompanied him Jodhpur Rajya Ki Khajyat 4 p 51

7 N A O I : F & P, April 9 1807, Cons No 25 *Ibid*, dated March 18 1807

8 N A O I F & P April 21, 1807 Cons. No 61 *Ibid*, dated April 6 1807

9 N A O I F & P April 21, 1807, Cons No 66 *Ibid*, dated April 6, 1807

recent successes, reached Harsot¹ on March 24, 1807. Divergent councils dominated the camp of Sawai Jagat Singh now as to the priority of placing Dhonkal Singh on the throne and of celebrating his nuptials with Krishna Kumari². He accepted the former counsel. He achieved complete success in establishing the authority of Dhonkal Singh³. On the other hand, he sent Amir Khan and Rao Chand Singh to besiege the city of Jodhpur. Man Singh was forced to evacuate it on April 24, 1807. He took refuge in the fort⁴. Minor skirmishes were fought at Fatehpur and Lakhanpal but the Raja held out within his fort. Amir Khan's forces soon exhausted the resources of the open country. The Rathors, who had espoused the cause of Dhonkal Singh, were greatly disgusted at the wanton depredations committed in their country by the enemy⁵. What added more intensity to the revulsion of the Rathors was the appalling activities to which their compatriots were subjected by the hordes of Amir Khan. Therefore, the Rathors began to quit the camp of Sawai Jagat Singh⁶. Sindbia's generals also put

1 (a) N A O I : F & P, April 23, 1807, Cons. No. 15 *Ibid.*, dated April 8, 1807.

(b) 50 kos to the east of Jodhpur.

2 Sawai Singh advised him to take up the cause of Dhonkal Singh first while Dewan Rai Chand put forth that he should first solemnise his marriage before he takes up the cause of Dhonkal Singh. Jodhpur Khayat 4, p. 52.

3 N A O I : F & P, April 30, 1807, Cons. No. 28. From A Seton to N B Edmonstone dated April 11, 1807, Shahpura Khayat 2, p. 107. Maharaja Jagat Singh reached Jodhpur nearabout Baisakh Budi 9, 1803 V S. Shahpura Khayat 2, p. 105.

4 (a) N A O I : F & P, May 7, 1807, Cons. No. 22 *Ibid.* dated April 24, 1807, P. R. C. xi, 230.

(b) D O A B. Jodhpur Records. Hakikat Bahu No. 6, folio 476 A.

5 N A O I : F & P, May 7 1807, Cons. No. 19. From A Seton to N B Edmonstone, dated April 7, 1807.

6 (a) N A O I : F & P, June 19 1807 Cons. No. 73. From G Mercer to G H Harlow, dated May 18 1807.

(b) Shahpura Khayat 2, p. 108 assigns the reason that as Maharaja Jagat Singh demanded Fauj Kharch from Jodhpur bards who had joined him to replenish his depleted treasury so they began to give up his cause.

him to trouble¹

Ambaji Inglia and Bapooji Sindhia brought in their hordes to realise the amount which Sawai Jagat Singh had promised to pay to Sindhia for the help.² During the period when these events were happening the armies of both the generals could not arrive on the scene. So when they reached Jaipur they were confronted with the changed attitude of the Jaipur Darbar. They began to plunder the villages of Jaipur.³ Sindhia threatened him that in the event of non compliance, he would support the cause of Man Singh, his cousin, to the throne of Jaipur.⁴ It was the beginning of his humiliations. Ambaji Inglia demanded 12 lakhs of rupees.⁵ Nothing but the abject surrender to his demands seemed expedient for saving his kingdom and so Jagat Singh conceded to it. Ambaji received two lakhs in cash. He then made an unsuccessful attempt to adjust the dispute between Man Singh and Dhonkal Singh by a partition of the Jodhpur territory.⁶ Ambaji then left the Jaipur camp to collect the money which had been granted to him upon several districts against the balance.⁷ Bapooji Sindhia remained there to settle the dispute between Man Singh and Dhonkal Singh. Bapooji gained ascendancy at Jaipur. Ambaji became jealous of it. The two giving up their joint efforts, opposed each other. Ambaji still favoured the cause of Sawai Jagat Singh, while Bapooji

1 Jodhpur Raja Ki Khayat 4, p 60, mentions that Maharaja Man Singh deputed Lodha Kalayan Mal to Sindhia and on the score of Maharaja Man Singh being tributary to him, Sindhia sent Ambaji Inglia to help him.

2 N.A.O.I. F & P, June 11 1807, Cons No 16. From A Seton to N.B. Edmonstone dated May 24, 1807.

3 N.A.O.I. F & P, June 25, 1807, Cons No 19. From G. Mercer to G. H. Barlow dated May 28, 1807.

4 *Ibid*.

5 N.A.O.I. F & P July 23, 1807, Cons No 30. From A. Seton to N.B. Edmonstone, dated July 6 1807.

6 Jodhpur Raja Ki Khayat 4, p 63 mentions that Indraj agreed to hand over Nagar Didwana, Keshi, Merta, Parbatsar, Maroth, Sanbhar to Dhonkal Singh. But Sawai Singh insisted on having Jodhpur for Dhonkal Singh and so the negotiations broke off. Sawai Singh won over Ambajee to his side.

7 N.A.O.I. F & P Sept 8 1807. Cons. No 25. From G. Mercer to G. H. Barlow, dated July 27, 1807.

Sindhia persuaded Surjee Rao Ghatke to quit the Jaipur camp and favour Maharaja Man Singh¹. The conflicting interests of the Marathas thus complicated the political atmosphere of Rajputana.

The condition of Sawai Jagat Singh was full of difficulties. He was at a considerable distance from his capital without provisions in the midst of undisciplined troops. He was worried over the attitude of the Rathors, numbering ten thousand, who had lately left the Jaipur camp and marched towards Merta being dismayed at the impolicy of their Rathor brethren in encouraging Sawai Jagat Singh to invade their country². Attempts to win them over once again were met with failure. At such a juncture the activities of Amir Khan also caused confusion in the Kachwaha camp.

Amir Khan's sole aim in helping Sawai Jagat Singh was to get a large share of spoils for himself. The demand of the Jaipur Raja to surrender the plundered property of Man Singh made him desperate. He, therefore, accused Sawai Jagat Singh of laxity in fulfilling his expectations and, with a profound sense of grief, delivered the loot to him. Amir Khan who nourished ill-feelings for Jagat Singh on this score was soon persuaded by the Rathors to favour the cause of Man Singh. Indraaj met Amir Khan at the village, Babra,³ and enlisted him on his side. Amir Khan then joined Man Singh's camp⁴. He now championed the safety of Man Singh and practised the same spoliation in Jaipur. A portion of his infantry was sent towards Jaipur⁵.

1 N A O I F & P, Sept 15, 1807, Cons. No 13. From G Mercer to G H Barlow, dated Aug 13 1807.

2 N A O I F & P, Aug 11, 1807 Cons. No 4. From A Seton to N B Edmonstone, dated July 23, 1807.

3 D O A B Jodhpur Records Hukikat Bahi No 6, folio 477 B. Singhes Indraaj deputed Bhandari Prithu Raj and Thakur Shiv Nath Singh of Kuchaman. They paid him Rs. 30,000 in the first instance. Again Amir Khan was given a Rukka for four to five lakhs of rupees by them and he promised to espouse the cause of Maharaja Man Singh. Jodhpur Rajya ki Khajast, 4, pp. 60-63.

4 D O A B Jodhpur Records, khas Rukka Parwana Bahi No 2 folio 137A.

5 N A O I F & P, Aug 11 1807, Cons. No 4. From A Seton to N B Edmonstone, dated July 23 1807.

which exacted tributes from Khushalgarh and Hindon¹ of Rs 16,000 and Rs 10,000 respectively and then proceeded for Kishan-garh² The Rathors who were dissatisfied with Sawai Jagat Singh joined him Sheo Lal was sent to check the activities of Amir Khan A minor engagement was fought on August 3, 1807,³ which was favourable for the Jaipur forces⁴ Sawai Jagat Singh felt elated at the success But instead of consolidating his gains, he again entertained the idea of marrying Krishna Kumari The issue was again dragged to the battle-field of Madhorajpoorah⁵ The contending parties fought a pitched battle on August 18, 1807 It resulted in the defeat of the Jaipur forces⁶ Sheo Lal retired to Jaipur Jodhpur's ascendancy was established over Marot, Didwana and Parbatsar⁷ Amir Khan, on the other hand, closely followed the fugitives and knocked at the gates of Jaipur⁸ The capital was dismayed by his presence

The news of the Kachwaha defeat reached Sawai Jagat Singh on August 22, 1807.⁹ This unexpected development broke the confederacy against Man Singh The Rajas of Bika-

1 75 miles east by south east of Jaipur city

2 (a) N A O I F & P, Aug 18, 1807, Cons No 6 From A Seton to NB Edmonstone, dated July 24, 1807

(b) An estate in the south east of the state of Banarswa

3 D O A B From Kalyan Singh to Maharaja Sawai Jagat Singh, dated Bhadra Badi 1, 1864 V S (19 8 1807), Arziat Section, Bundle No 18

4 N A O I F & P, Sept 1, 1807, Cons No 14 From A Seton to NB Edmonstone, dated Aug 15, 1807

5 20 miles south west of Jaipur near the river Banas

6 N A O I F & P, Sept 8, 1807 Cons No 13A From A Seton to NB Edmonstone dated Aug 21, 1807, Jodhpur Rajya Ki Khayat, 4, p 65

7 (a) D O A B Jodhpur Records, Hakikat Bahi No 1, folio 477A

(b) D O A B Jodhpur Records Khas Rukka Parwana Bahi No 2, folio 6B, Jodhpur Rajya Ki Khayat 4, p 65

8 (a) D O A B Jodhpur Records, Kharita Bahi No 9, folio 130B, Jodhpur Records Khas Rukka Parwana Bahi No 4, folio 8D, Jodhpur Rajya Ki Khayat 4 pp 65 66, says that Amir Khan encamped at a distance of 3 kos from Jaipur at the village Juthwada. Jaipur villages were mercilessly plundered

9 N A O I F & P Sept 21, 1807, Cons No 43 From A Seton to NB Edmonstone dated Sept 2, 1807

ner and Shahpura withdrew and marched home¹. Ambaji, by this time, had returned to the Jaipur camp after realising a part of the money. Though thoroughly conversant with the Maratha character, still Sawai Jagat Singh requested him to render help but his price was too high. The Jaipur Raja would have willingly paid it, if the exhausted state of his treasury had allowed it². He unsuccessfully prevailed upon Ambaji to undertake the siege of Jodhpur while he himself prepared to advance to Jaipur³.

Amir Khan continued to ravage the country. He reduced Jaipur to such extremities that Sawai Jagat Singh did not think it proper to prolong the siege at Jodhpur. He offered a sum of Rs. 12 lakhs to Bapooji Sindhia and Bala Rao Inglia to escort him to the capital⁴. He even made a bid to appease Amir Khan by promising to pay nine lakhs of rupees to him if he did not obstruct his march to Jaipur⁵. But Amir Khan did not believe these promises and continued his activities as usual⁶.

At last Sawai Jagat Singh relinquished the siege on Bhadra Sudi 13, 1864 V S⁷ (14.9.1807). The confederacy against Man Singh was thus dissolved. Sawai Jagat Singh crowned Dhonkal Singh at Nagor. Leaving him under the protection of Bapooji Sindhia and Sawai Singh, he marched to Jaipur⁸.

1 D O A B : Jodhpur Records, Hakkat Bahi No. 1, folio 477 B, Jodhpur Rajya Ki Khayat 4 p. 66

2 N A O I : F & P, Sept. 26, 1807. Cons. No. 16. From A Seton to N B Edmonstone, dated Sept. 8, 1807.

3 N A O I : F & P, Oct. 26, 1807, Cons. No. 11. From G. Mercer to Lord Minto, dated Sept. 24, 1807.

4 D O A B : Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No. 5, folio 8 B.

5 D O A B : Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No. 5, folio 8 B.

6 N A O I : F & P, Oct. 26, 1807. Cons. No. 20. From G. Mercer to Lord Minto, dated Oct. 8, 1807. The siege had begun on Shrawan Sudi 5, 1864 V S (8.8.1807). Jodhpur Rajya Ki Khayat 4, p. 63.

7 (a) D O A B : Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No. 5, folio 8 B dated Kartik Budi 9, 1864 V S (25.10.1807). From Jodhpur to Daulat Rao Sindhia.

(b) D O A B : Jodhpur Records, Kharita Bahi No. 2, folio 130 B. Jodhpur Rajya Ki Khayat 4 p. 66, gives the date as Bhadra Sudi 13, 1864 V S (14.9.1807).

8 D O A B : Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No. 5, folio 65 B dated Ashoj Budi 13, 1864 V S (29.9.1807). From Jodhpur to Surjee Rao. Suraj Singh left for Bikaner via Nagor. Sawai Singh remained at Nagor. Jodhpur Rajya Ki Khayat 4 p. 67. P. R. C. xi. 238.

Amir Khan intercepted his retreat and defeated him at Nasol¹. Jagat Singh reached Jaipur on October 6, 1807². Ambaji Inglia accompanied him.

Amir Khan had now become the sole arbiter in Rajputana. The Rathor chiefs thought it prudent to retain his support. They paid him two lakhs of rupees³. Amir Khan then reached Merta. He invited Raja Man Singh to pool their resources to oust Dhonekal Singh from Nagor⁴. But he was too wise to put faith in such a capricious man as Amir Khan⁵. He excused himself because he lacked the money.

But Man Singh soon found himself compelled to comply with Amir Khan's wishes⁶. It was impossible for him to capture Nagor and oust Dhonekal Singh without his help. Amir Khan was invited to Jodhpur. Several meetings took place between him and the Maharaja⁷. In November 1807, they exchanged turbans as a token of brotherhood⁸. Man Singh enlisted his support. He agreed to pay him Rs. 4,50,000 per month as the expenses of his army,⁹ bestow on him a jagir worth four lakhs and employ his brigade. Amir Khan was thus relieved from

- 1 D O A B - Jodhpur Records Kharita Bahi No 9, folio 130 A Jodhpur Rajya Ki Khayat 4 p. 67
- 2 N A O I F & P Nov 16, 1807, Cons No 1 From A Seton to N B Edmonstone, dated Oct 25 1807 Jodhpur Rajya Ki Khayat 4, p. 67, says that Dewan Rai Chand of Jaipur offered a lakh of rupees to Indraj for the safe arrival of Maharaja at Jaipur.
- 3 D O A B Jodhpur Records Khas Rukka Parwana Bahi No 5, folio 123A
- 4 D O A B Jodhpur Records Hakikat Bahi No 6, folio 478 A
- 5 N A O I F & P Oct 26 1807, Cons No 20 From A Seton to N B Edmonstone, dated Oct 9, 1807
- 6 D O A B Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No 5 folio 94 A, dated Shravan Budi 13 1866 V S (21 7 1807)
- 7 (a) D O A B Jodhpur Records Hakikat Bahi No 9, folio 86 B, dated Kartik Budi 3 1864 V S (19 10 1807)
(b) D O A B Jodhpur Records Hakikat Bahi No 9, folio 88 A, dated Kartik Sudi 7 1864 V S (6 11 1807)
- 8 D O A B Jodhpur Records, Hakikat Bahi No 6 folio 479 A Jodhpur Rajya Ki Khayat 4, p. 68
- 9 D O A B Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No 5, folio 146 A, dated Magh Sudi 15 1864 V S (12 2 1808) From Jodhpur to Mohammad Shah Khan

the loathsome burden under which his finances were crumbling and the indignity to which he was constantly subjected at the hands of his forces Amir Khan put a part of his forces at the services of Maharaja Man Singh.

From Jodhpur Amir Khan proceeded towards Nagor with Singhvi Indraj¹. To make his cause a formidable one, Maharaja Man Singh sent Thakur Shiv Nath Singh with some money to quell the disturbances in the forces of Surjee Rao Ghatke and asked him to join Amir Khan at Nagor². He again wrote to him for it³. He requested Daulat Rao Sindhia to order Bapooji for leaving Nagor and hand it over to him, with a view to further strengthening their ties⁴. In the meantime, Amir Khan conferred with Bapooji Sindhia and prevailed upon him to give up the cause of Dhonkal Singh. He assured him of the amicable settlement of the dues standing against Maharaja Man Singh⁵. Vyas Chatur Bhuj and Shah Shiv Karan were sent to Daulat Rao Sindhia for prevailing upon him to make Bapooji help Jodhpur forces. They promised to pay him the dues earlier⁶. Bhandari Prithvi Chand and Vyas Abhay Karan made Bapooji agree to get Nagor evacuated from Dhonkal Singh⁷. Sindhia asked the Maharaja to order his Bakshi, Singhvi Indraj, to join Bapooji Sindhia⁸. Bapooji gave up the cause of Dhonkal

1 Bakshi of Maharaja Man Singh

2 D O A B : Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No 5, folio 65 B dated Ashoj Budi 13, 1864 V S (29 9 1807) From Jodhpur to Surjee Rao Ghatke

3 D O A B : Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No 5, folio 66 A dated Phalgun Sudi 3, 1864 V S (29 2 1808) From Jodhpur to Surjee Rao Ghatke

4 D O A B : Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No 5, folio 8 B dated Kartik Budi 9, 1864 V S (8 11 1807) From Jodhpur to Daulat Rao Sindhia

5 D O A B : Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No 5 folio 42 A, dated Kartik Budi 11, 1864 V S (27 10 1807) From Jodhpur to Bapooji Sindhia.

6 D O A B : Dastari Records, Basta No 6 file No 5, letter No 12 dated Magh Sudi 10 1864 V S (7 2 1808) From Daulat Rao Sindhia to Maharaja Man Singh

7 D O A B : Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No 5, folio 42 B dated Phalgun Budi 9, 1864 V S (20 2 1808) From Jodhpur to Bapooji Sindhia

8 D O A B : Dastari Records, Basta No 6 file No 5 letter No 11, dated Magh Sudi 10 1864 V S (7 2 1808) From Daulat Rao Sindhia to Maharaja Man Singh

Singh¹ Nagor was evacuated by him on Bhadra Budi 9, 1864 V S² (27 8 1808)

The Marathas never allowed any Rajputana state to be too formidable for them. Whenever any state displayed signs of being powerful they would neutralise its influence by casting their weight on the side of its opponent. Thus by tilting the balance the Marathas maintained their hold over Rajputana.

After Bapooji Sindhia left Dhonkal Singh, Sawai Singh remained his only supporter. He thought it safe to enter into negotiations with Amir Khan for the latter's retirement from Nagor³. He invited him to come to Moondihawur, a place about five kos from Nagor, for a settlement⁴. Amir Khan reached there on March 25, 1808,⁵ and requested him for a return visit. It was arranged after both of them took the most solemn oaths of friendship. Sawai Singh, accompanied by the chiefs of Bagri, Pali, Chandawal and five hundred horses, visited the camp of Amir Khan, who got them murdered⁶. The

1 D O A B Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No 5, folio 29 A, dated Shrawan Budi 13 1865 V S (21 7 1808) From Jodhpur to Ambaji, P B C xi, 243

2 D O A B Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No 5, folio 65 B, dated Phalgun Budi 13, 1864 V S (24 2 1808) From Jodhpur to Surjee Rao Ghatke

3 N A O I F & P, May 16 1808 Cons No 76 From G Mercer to Lord Minto, dated April 18, 1808

4 N A O I F & P, April 25, 1808 Cons No 68 Translation of an extract from Persian Newsletter from Lucknow, dated April 12, 1808

5 D O A B Jodhpur Records, Hakikat Bahi No 9, folio 101 B, dated Chaitra Sudi 4 1864 V S (31 3 1808) Jodhpur Rajya Ki Khajast 4, p 74 The date is Chaitra Budi 14, 1864 V S (25 3 1808) They met at Dargah Nazim

6 (a) D O A B From Rathor Gaj Singh to Maharaja Sawai Singh, dated Phalgun Sudi 9, 1865 V S (24 2 1809), Bundle No 18 Arzadast No 62

(b) D O A B Jodhpur Records, Hakikat Bahi No. 6, folio 482 A

(c) D O A B Jodhpur Records, Kharita Bahi No 9, folio 160 A

(d) D O A B Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No 9, folio 8 A & 66 A

(e) Sawai Singh's forty two chieftains met the same fate. Todar Prasad II, 114 Shabpara Khajast 2, p 118 The important sardars of Sawai Singh who were murdered were as follows: Thakur Kesari

(Contd. on next page)

news of this tragedy reached Jodhpur on Chaitra Sudi 6, 1864 V.S¹ (24 1808). Amir Khan immediately captured Nagor². This constituted one of the most treacherous murders³ on the soil of Rajputana under cover of friendship and festivity. Dhonkal Singh fled to Bikaner⁴.

This event of infamy ought to have struck a note of caution in the Rajputs who could be treated likewise but they were so badly after revenge that the event passed unnoticed and led to more bestial and macabre acts. Man Singh honoured Amir Khan and bestowed on him the two towns of Moondhiawar and Koochilawas with an annual income of Rs 30,000. He also offered 10 lakhs of rupees and a daily allowance of one hundred rupees. The parganas of Daulatpura, Maroth, Sambhar, Didwana, Nawa and Koha were allotted to him for his personal expenditure⁵. The cause of Dhonkal was now lost.

When Amir Khan was busy at Jodhpur, Bapooji Sindhia pressed Sawai Jagat Singh for the payment of Sindhia's dues of ten lakhs of rupees. He threatened him with dire conse-

(Contd from previous page)

Singh, Thakur Gyan Singh, Thakur Bakshi Ram and Chief Karan

The murder was executed on March 30, 1808. *Hakikat Bahi* No 9, p 101. The Murder was executed at the instigation of Maharaja Man Singh as he thought that Sawai Singh was the only man responsible for the woes of Jodhpur. *Shahpura Khayat* 2, p 118, *Jodhpur Rajya Ki Khayat* 4, p 72.

1 D O A B : Jodhpur Records. *Hakikat Bahi* No 9, folio 102 A, dated Chaitra Sudi 6, 1864 V S (24 1808). *Shahpura Khayat* 2, p 118, gives the date as Chaitra 1864 V S. *Jodhpur Rajya Ki Khayat* 4 pp 74-75 gives the date of the murder as Chaitra Sudi 3 1864 V S (30 3 1808) which appears to be correct.

2 D O A B : Jodhpur Records. *Kharita Bahi* No 9, folio 150 A. Nagor was captured on Chaitra Sudi 4, 1864 V S (31 3 1808). *Jodhpur Rajya Ki Khayat* 4, p 76.

3 The covered heads of Sawai Singh, Kewari Singh, Gyan Singh and Bakshi Ram were sent to Jodhpur and given a joint funeral at the request of Thakur Bakhtawar Singh. *Jodhpur Rajya Ki Khayat* 4 p 75.

4 P R C xi, 231.

5 D O A B : Jodhpur Records, *Hakikat Bahi* No 6 folio 482 B and 482 A. *Jodhpur Rajya Ki Khayat* 4 p 80, mentions Parbatsar instead of Daulatpura.

quences in case of delay.¹ As Sawai Jagat Singh was not inclined to pay so Bapooji Sindhia once again attacked Jaipur.² Sawai Jagat Singh did not submit to him and ordered his troops under Rao Chand Singh to face the issue. The rival camps were set at Nasareedah where they fought a pitched battle. The Marathas were made to retreat. The Marathas again attacked the Rajputs and Rao Chand Singh was wounded and ultimately obliged to flee to Todree.³ It was beleaguered. The surrender of Chand Singh was demanded in the absence of which threats to destroy the place were held out or the payment of forty lakhs of rupees was asked for. The consternation felt at Jaipur was deplorable. The Maharaja sent letters to all the friendly Rajput chiefs for immediate help. He also tried to conciliate Maharaja Man Singh and Amir Khan by sending Dina Ram Bohra to them. But Man Singh had no intention of helping his rival and Amir Khan did not desire to let the opportunity go unused. The Maharaja tried to come to terms with Daulat Rao Sindhia also.⁴ He endeavoured to placate Jaswant Rao Holkar by appointing Chatur Bhuji, his confidential adviser, as his Prime Minister. The Raja seemed to be confirmed in his view that if his move failed, he would purchase the retreat of the enemy. Rao Chatur Bhuji, on being appointed, asked Amir Khan to cease hostilities.⁵ He extorted four lakhs in species and two lakhs in jewels and gave up his activities only when Jaswant Rao Holkar asked for it.⁶

Meanwhile, Bapooji Sindhia laid siege to Beawar.⁷ It

1 NAOI F & P, May 16, 1808 Cons. No 101. Intelligence from Jaipur, dated April 30, 1808.

2 DOAB From Sawai Jagat Singh to Maharana Bhim Singh, dated Asadh Budi 12, 1864 VS (20.6.1808) No 185.

3 (a) DOAB Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No 5, folio 11(B), dated Asadh Sudi 12 1864 VS (5.7.1808).

(b) NAOI F & P July 18, 1808, Cons. No 33 From A Seton to N.B. Edmonstone, dated June 30, 1808.

4 NAOI F & P Jan 16, 1809, Cons. No 93 From A Seton to N.B. Edmonstone, dated Dec. 19, 1808.

5 NAOI F & P, Aug 15 1808 Cons. No 18 *Ibid.*, dated July 20 1808.

6 NAOI F & P, Nov 28, 1808 Cons. No 12 From R. Close Acting Resident with Sindhia to Lord Minto dated Nov 7, 1808.

7 Situated in 26° 5' N and 74° 19' E.

was surrendered¹ He proceeded to Khushalgarh and levied contributions. Bapooji then marched towards Jaipur and demanded the charges of this expedition along with forty lakhs of rupees² To make his demand more effective he encamped at Doongar Seelat, 16 miles from Jaipur³ The excessive demands led Sawai Jagat Singh to depute his Vakil Balmukund to the Company He impressed upon it to protect Jaipur from the Marathas and settle her differences with Sindhia But the Company refused to undertake such a responsibility in view of its declared policy of non-interference⁴ The policy of the Company was constantly determined by the expediency of its interests The Maharaja, finding no way out, paid him 4 lakhs of rupees as the price of withdrawal from Jaipur⁵ He promised to pay the arrears of Sindhia too

Bapooji Sindhia had been carrying on his activities in Rajputana all this time He attacked Newai⁶ Daulat Rao Sindhia was much worried at his attitude as it was the territory of the Company So, to stop his activities and realise the ducs from Jaipur he marched to Rajputana⁷ On his way to Jaipur he levied large contributions on the Raja of Oonara, a tributary of Jaipur⁸ Then he laid siege to Doondie early in March, 1809⁹ Daulat Rao planned to put pressure on the Jaipur Raja

1 N A O I : F & P, Aug 29, 1808 Cons No 23 From R Close to Lord Minto, dated Aug 2 1808

2 N A O I : F & P, Aug 8 1808 Cons No 26 From A Seton to N B Edmonstone, dated July 18, 1808

3 N A O I : F & P, Sept. 12, 1808, Cons No 28 *Ibid* dated Aug. 17, 1808

4 *Ibid*

5 N A O I : F & P, Jan. 6, 1809, Cons No 93 *Ibid*, dated Dec 19, 1808

6 (a) D O A B : Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No 5, folio 68 B

(b) D O A B : Arzi Bahi No 5, folio 44 B, dated Phalgun Sudi 1, 1865 V S (12 1809)

7 D O A B : Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No 5 folio 13A dated Phalgun Sudi 7, 1865 V S (21 2 1809) From Maharaja Man Singh to Daulat Rao Sindhia

8 N A O I : F & P, March 27, 1809, Cons. No 44 From R Close to Lord Minto, dated March 3, 1809

9 N A O I : F & P, April 10, 1809, Cons No 60 *Ibid*, dated March 23, 1809.

on two fronts to make him amenable to his demands. He replaced Bapooji by Jagoo Bapoo and sent Bala Rao Inglia,¹ to help him. He himself continued the siege at Doondie. It was pressed vigorously but the Jaipur forces, who had received reinforcements, put up a stubborn defence.² Ultimately, the Jaipur Darbar expressed willingness to comply with the terms and sent Khushali Ram Bohra, the new Dewan, to meet Sindhia. A meeting took place on April 25, 1809.³ It was agreed that the Jaipur Darbar would pay Rs 13,99,994 as 'Mamlat dues' and Rs 2,37,650 as 'Fauj Kharch'.⁴ The first instalment of three lakhs was paid by the Raja immediately and for the balance hundis were issued for subsequent dates the receipts of which were obtained through Sanwal Das.⁵

The Mamlat being thus settled, Sindhia turned his attention towards establishing his authority in Mewar, where the Rana was treating his orders with scant regard. His return to Mewar was facilitated by the call of the Rana who was constantly harassed by the indifferent attitude of his nobles.⁶ Sindhia tried to root out the dissensions but he could not effect this and so he marched to Ajmer.⁷ Sindhia remained there for a short time, and having set affairs right, reached Bundi, to punish the Meenas who had harassed his army⁸ and to settle

1 (a) N A O I F & P, March 27, 1809 Cons No 44, *Ibid* dated March 3, 1809

(b) Brother of Ambaji Inglia

2 N A O I F & P, April 10, 1809, Cons No 60 From R Close to N B Edmonstone, dated March 23, 1809

3 N A O I F & P, May 20, 1809, Cons No 23 From R Close to Lord Minto dated April 30 1809

4 (a) D O A B Yad-dast between Daulat Rao Sindhia and Bohra Khushali Ram, Samvat 1866 V S (33 1809 to 21 3 1810)

(b) D O A B From Bala Rao to Khushali Ram Bohra, dated Phalgun Budi 13, 1866 V S (33 1810)

5 D O A B Kapat Dwara No 1106, Yad-dast of Samvat 1810

6 N A O I F & P, July 29, 1809, Cons No 14 From R Close to N B Edmonstone dated July 7, 1809

7 N A O I : Dec 26, 1809 Cons No 4 From R Close to Lord Minto dated Dec 1, 1809

8 N A O I F & P, May 8, 1810, Cons. No 12, From G Mercer to Lord Minto dated April 16, 1810

the mode of payment with the Jaipur Vakils¹ Having achieved this he left for Malwa

Daulat Rao Sindhia's concern with Rajputana ceased hereafter He constantly reminded the Jodhpur Raja to pay the arrears² and threatened to punish him³ The ever-growing paucity of funds, the recurring reminders of his troops to pay their dues, punctuated by the ever-increasing inroads of the Pindaris⁴ and Amir Khan, became a nightmare for him While his own dominions were subjected to the atrocities of Amir Khan and Pindaris, the Rajputs, looking at him with an eye of vengeance, he unsuccessfully approached the Company to help him in checking the activities of Amir Khan Rajputana remained a mirage for him He had to be content with the small sums that his generals paid him out of the collections from Rajputana

The rulers of Jaipur and Jodhpur had suffered much due to their desire of marrying Krishna Kumari They renounced the idea of marrying her They agreed to cement it by marital bonds Raja Jagat Singh was to become the son-in-law of Raja Man Singh and the latter was to become the brother-in-law of the former⁵ Fateh Ram Vyas, the Jodhpur Vakil, tried in vain to persuade the British Resident, A Seton, to witness the

1 N & O I : F & P, May 16, 1810, Cons. No 58 *Ibid.*, dated May 1, 1810

2 (a) Dastari Records, Basta No 6, file No 5, letter No 31, dated Ashoj Sudi 7, 1867 V S (5 10 1810)

(b) D O A B : Dastari Records, Basta No 6, file No 6, letter No 36, dated Posh Sudi 3, 1867 V S (29 12 1810)

(c) D O A B : Dastari Records Basta No 6, File No 5, letter No 29, dated Shrawan Budi 10, 1867 V S (26 7 1810)

3 (a) D O A B : Dastari Records, Basta No 6, file No. 5, letter No 57, dated Baisakh Sudi 5, 1868 V S (27 4 1811)

(b) D O A B : Dastari Records Basta No 6, file No 5, letter No. 60, dated Jyeshth Sudi 6, 1868 V S (28 5 1811)

4 They were a sort of loose unpaid militia allied to the Marathas, employed by them in the plunder of Mughal forces They were again brought into prominence in the early years of the 19th century

5. (a) D O A B : From Rai Ratan Lal to Maharaja Man Singh, dated Asadh Sudi 4, 1867 V S (6 7 1810) Aris No 126.

(b) N & O I : F & P, June 21, 1810, Cons. No. 42 From A Seton to N B Edmonstone, dated June 6, 1810

agreement as a kind of British guarantee but the latter refused it.¹

Excepting occasional interference, the tussle for the hand of Krishna Kumari was fought outside Mewar and thus peace prevailed there. Amir Khan disturbed it by bringing his hordes to demand the dues. Hardly had the Rana overcome this demand when he suggested to him to recover Kumbhalnagar from Jaswant Rao Bhow.² He offered his services for it on being paid. The Rana conceded to his suggestion. He agreed to pay 11 lakhs of rupees for it.³ Amir Khan could not succeed in recapturing it. It was effected by paying Rs. 70,000 to Jaswant Rao Bhow.

Amir Khan did not want peace in Rajputana. He was anxious to revive the old marriage feud between the Jaipur and Jodhpur Rajas although they had decided to relinquish all thoughts about it. He made a persistent demand to meet the Rana and succeeded through the good offices of Seth Bala Ram.⁴ He demanded that one of his brigades be taken in the service of the Rana, as a subsidiary force in his pay. He also asked the Rana to celebrate his daughter's marriage with Man Singh or else put her to death. The Rana took it dishonourable to marry her to the Rathor Chief. He conceded to his demands by stationing a brigade and of getting her poisoned⁵ to save the land from plunder. Krishna Kumari passed away on Shrawan

1 N A O I F & P July 7, 1810, Cons No 37 *Ibid.*, dated June 19, 1810

2 (a) N A O I F & P July 7, 1810 From G Mercer to Lord Minto, dated June 20 1810

(b) One of Sindhia's generals posted in Rajputana

3 P R C Vol XIV letter No 33 pp 56-7 dated June 20 1810

4 N A O I F & P, August 18, 1810 Cons No 54 From A Seton to N B Edmonstone dated July 27, 1810

5 (a) N A O I F & P Sept 25 1810, Cons No 54 From C T Metcalfe to Lord Minto, dated August 10, 1810

(b) D O A B Jodhpur Records Hakikat Bahi No 9, folio 267A, dated Shrawan Budi 9, 1807 VS (25 7 1810)

(c) D O A B Jodhpur Records, Hakikat Bahi No 6 folio 478A and 530B, Jodhpur Akhbat 4, p 83

Budi 6, 1867 V S¹ (21 7 1810)

This was a sad epilogue to a sad drama which had kept Rajputana in a state of tension for a long time. The fantastic circumstances under which Krishna Kumari lost her life is not only a piece of literary drama but also an event of great importance in Rajputana. While we have nothing but praise for her beauty and endurance one cannot be restrained from observing that her beauty cost the land and people of Rajputana a lot of turmoil and destruction. This strategem sealed the fate of an alliance between Jaipur and Jodhpur for a long time.

During all this time Jaswant Rao Holkar was also carrying on his activities. Leaving Jaipur in March 1807, he proceeded towards Kota en route to Bundi,² for realising the amount of hundis granted to him by the Raja of Jaipur as the price of his neutrality. While on his way through the Indergarh and Lakhari ghats, he was harassed by the Meenas,³ the inhabitants of the place. Jaswant Rao realised the damages caused to his forces by the Maharao and marched towards Kota. He demanded ten lakhs of rupees⁴ from the Kota Maharao clearing all his tributary dues. Zalim Singh showed his inability to pay.⁵ Jaswant Rao was at the time hard pressed by the demands of his troops to clear their arrears of pay. So he was willing to accept even five lakhs. He even agreed to adjust Rs 2,25,000 as compensation for the depredations committed by his troops and the balance being paid to him on his clearing the Mukandra pass. Jaswant Rao arrived at Rampura and got the dues. His constantly failing health made him retire to his capital. Jaswant

1 (a) D.O.A.B. Jodhpur Records Hakikat Bahi No 9, folio 267A dated Shrawan Budi 9 1867 V S (25 7 1810) V Vinod, V 2, Chap 16, Gahlot I, p 272

(b) Shahpura Khayat 2, p 120. It gives the date as 1864 V S which is unsupported by other primary sources.

2 N.A.O.I. F & P, April 9, 1807 Cons. No 24 From A Seton to N.B. Edmonstone, dated March 21, 1807

3 N.A.O.I. F & P, April 16, 1807, Cons. No 27 Ibid dated March 27, 1807

4 N.A.O.I.: F & P June 11, 1807, Cons. No 16 Ibid., dated May 24, 1807

5 N.A.O.I. : F & P, June 19 1807, Cons. No 73 From G Mercer to G.H. Barlow dated May 18, 1807

Rao's deteriorating condition resulted in his occasional mental malady¹. During this period, Amir Khan realised a part of his dues from Rajputana.

Excepting occasional interference in the affairs of Rajputana the influence of the house of Holkar virtually ceased with the retirement of Jaswant Rao. There was not a single leader left in his family who could re-establish the lost prestige of the Holkar's house in Rajputana. Amir Khan and the Pindaris were left to spell its complete ruin within a short span of seven years. The Rajput states freed themselves from this evil by signing treaties of peace with the Company in 1818.

¹ Jaswant Rao Holkar had the first fit of insanity on the 20th October, 1807. While performing *frats* he began uttering inarticulate mutterings. He unreservedly spoke to Balram Seth, about his mental state. What I say one moment, I forget the next, give me strength. Holkaranchi Kaufyat p. 110.

The Ascendancy of Amir Khan over Rajput States (1810-1818)

The period between 1810-1818 is a pathetic tale of violence and rapine in Rajputana. It increased due to the malady of Jaswant Rao Holkar and the all absorbing attention of Daulat Rao Sindhia to save his own dominions from the inroads of the Pundaris. If life was visible even after the atrocities of Sindhia and Holkar, it lay only in the barren fields, groaning peasantry, and a demoralised military. Amir Khan completed the ruin by his activities till the Rajput states were taken under the protection of the Company in 1818.

When it became inevitable to put Jaswant Rao Holkar under restraint because of his becoming mad, it was decided that the government be run by a regency controlled by Amir Khan under the nominal authority of Tulsai Bai.¹ Amir Khan moved to Rajputana to collect the arrears of tribute. The only difference between his predatory career before and after 1810 A.D. was that the veil of habitual subordination to Holkar was put off and his acts were guided by his own independent outlook.

The Kachwahs bore the brunt of his depredations. The gap in his atrocities was punctuated by the plundering activities of Bapooji Sindhia. The habitual indolence of the Kachwahs provided ample reason for an attack. The Kachwahs attempted

1 (a) Duff *op. cit.*, III, 321

(b) The favourite queen of Jaswant Rao Holkar

to adjust matters amicably Khiali Ram was sent by the Jaipur Darbar. He failed to negotiate a settlement.¹ The failure was followed by constant reminders from Holkar to Maharaja Jagat Singh for the payment. He ultimately sent Vasil Khan for negotiating the dues.² When at last it became clear that these peace efforts would be unsuccessful, a show-down of arms was decided upon.

Amir Khan, who was at that time in Mewar, began to ransack its suburbs and asked Mohammad Shah Khan³ to rush troops to his help. These reached Belarah,⁴ by the middle of April, 1810. He laid siege to Dankola, in the Shahpura territory while he ordered the troops of Mohammad Shah Khan to proceed to Jaipur.⁵ The siege lasted for four months.⁶ At last Raja Amar Singh deputed Shiv Nath Singh and Nirdhan Singh, the two rich bankers, to the camp of Amir Khan to settle the dues.⁷ Through the good offices of Munshi Data Ram the whole of the dues were decided upon at three lakhs⁸ and divided equally in cash and kind.⁹ The hundi was to be paid through Fathuddin

1 D O A B From Jaswant Rao Holkar to Sawai Jagat Singh, dated Jaisath Buda 9 1867 V S (27 5 1810), Kharita Section, Indore Bundle

2 (a) D O A B From Rai Ratan Lal to Seth Bala Ram, Dewan of Holkar, dated Asadh Buda 5, 1867 V S (7 7 1810)

(b) From Megh Singh to Jaswant Rao Holkar, dated Asadh Buda 5 1867 V S (7 7 1810)

3 (a) N A O I F & S, May 8, 1810, Cons No 12 From G. Mercer to Lord Minto dated April 16, 1810

(b) Mohammad Shah Khan was the Amil of Seron. He was the most distinguished follower of Amir Khan and was given the title of Mokhtar ud Dolah

4 (a) 8 kos south west of Shahpura

(b) N A O I F & S, May 8, 1810, Cons. No 12 From G. Mercer to Lord Minto dated April 16, 1810.

5 N A O I F & P, June 5, 1810 Cons No 58 *Ibid.*, dated May 16, 1810

6 Prinsep *op cit.*, p 401

7 Sitamow : Parcha dated 25, Shawwal, 1225 H (23 11 1810) No 215-65

8 *Ibid*

9 Sitamow Parcha dated 11 Zilkada 1225 H (9 12 1810), No 209/65

Khan¹ It was delayed due to unusual circumstances² Soon after receiving the hundi Amir Khan dashed towards Jaipur to help Mohammad Shah Khan³ He left the affairs of Mewar under Jamshed Khan

Mohammad Shah Khan encamped at Sambhar,⁴ and began levying contributions⁵ Seeing the huge depredations in his territory, Sawai Jagat Singh sought the intervention of Maharaja Man Singh The Maharaja prevailed upon Amir Khan to cease hostilities in Jaipur⁶ But he did not care for it⁷ The troops of Raja Lal Singh were also recalled from Mewar⁸ Being cornered from all sides by his enemies, the Maharaja wrote a conciliatory letter to Mohammad Shah Khan promising to pay the dues earlier He kept his Wakil, Mehtab Rai at his court to accelerate collections⁹ But Holkar's instructions came in the way as he had forbidden the Jaipur Darbar to pay anything to Mohammad Khan against his accounts Mohammad Shah Khan resumed his activities To save Jaipur from his depredations,¹⁰ Thakur Megh Singh was sent for negotiations He was followed by Mehta Suraj Mal, Singhvi Fatch Raj and Rao Chatar Bhuj,¹¹ during March 1811¹²

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- 1 Sitamow Parcha, dated 16 Zilkada, 1225 H (14 12 1810), No 223/65
 - 2 Sitamow Parcha, dated 23 Zilkada, 1225 H (21 12 1810) No 173/25
 - 3 D O A B From Seth Bala Ram to Thakur Megh Singh, dated Kartika Sudi 15, 1867 V S (11 11 1810)
 - 4 N A O I F & P, August 6 1810, Cons No 78 From A Seton to N B Edmonstone, dated July 17 1810
 - 5 N A O I F & P, Aug 18 1810, Cons No 54 *Ibid*, dated July 27, 1810
 - 6 D O A B Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No 5 folio 145 A From Lal Singh to Lala Mehtab Rai, dated Bhadra Sudi 3 1867 V S (29 1810)
 - 7 D O A B From Singhvi Indraj and Suraj Mal to Ratan Lal and Thakur Megh Singh, dated Ashoj Budi 2 1867 V S (15 9 1810)
 - 8 D O A B From Bohra Doona Ram to Jaswant Rao Holkar, dated Posh Budi 2, 1867 V S (12 12 1810)
 - 9 Sitamow Parcha dated 22 Zilkada, 1225 H (20 12 1810), No 124/65
 - 10 N A O I : F & P, Feb 23, 1811 Cons No 44 From C T Metcalfe to Lord Minto dated Jan 24 1811
 - 11 D O A B From Megh Singh to Maharaja Sawai Jagat Singh dated Magh Sudi 3 1867 V S (21 1 1811) No 69 Arzadast Benam Maharajgan
 - 12 N A O I F & P May 17, 1811, Cons No 52 From W Fraser to N B Edmonstone, dated April 19 1811

In the meantime, Amir Khan left Shahpura and en route to Kishangarh proceeded towards the camp of Mohammad Shah Khan. He reached Kishangarh on Kartik Budi 1, 1867 V S (13 10 1810), and encamped at Bantali.¹ Amir Khan devastated Sarwar² and Dodli³ and levied a contribution of Rs 70,000⁴. Then he joined Mohammad Shah Khan.

Amir Khan encamped at Mewace,⁵ where he was restrained by his Pathan followers.⁶ He left Jaipur affairs in the hands of Mohammad Shah Khan.⁷ After long discussions an agreement was signed between the two by which Jaipur agreed to pay ten lakhs to Amir Khan and six lakhs to Mohammad Shah Khan.⁸ The amount of the latter was to be realised from the Shekhawati chiefs, the tributaries of the Raja of Jaipur. It was further agreed that the Jaipur Wakil was to accompany him in this project. The receipts of the dacs up to the year 1869 V S (1812) were to be issued by Jaswant Rao Holkar.

This being settled, Mohammad Shah Khan accompanied by Chatur Bhuj advanced towards Rajsir⁹ and Manoharpur, 18 miles in the same direction.¹⁰ After levying contributions he reached Khetri¹¹ by the end of May, 1811.¹² Raja Abhey

1 A O Kish. From Mahnot Jodh Singh to Sardar Khan, dated Kartik Budi 1 1867 V S (13 10 1810)

2 (a) A O Kish. From Bhagot Singh to Sardar Khan, dated Kartik Budi 12, 1867 V S (25 10 1810)

(b) 40 miles South of Kishangarh

3 A O Kish. From Mahnot Jodh Singh to Sardar Khan, dated Kartik Budi 12 1867 V S (25 10 1810)

4 Prinsep, *op cit* p 403

5 18 kms South-east of Jaipur

6 N A O I. F & P April 19 1811, Cons No 16 From C T Metcalfe to Lieut Gen Hewitt, March 30, 1811

7 N A O I. F & P, May 17, 1811, Cons No 52 From W Fraser to N B Edmonstone, dated April 19 1811

8 D O A B. Kapat dwara Letter No 1130, Yaddasht between Mohammad Shah Khan and Jaipur Wakil, dated Chaitra Sudi 15, 1868 V S (19 4 1811)

9 13 kms north of Jaipur

10 N A O I. F & P, May 17 1811, Cons No 52 From W Fraser to N B Edmonstone, dated April 19 1811

11 Eighty miles north of Jaipur city

12 N A O I. F & P June 4, 1811, Cons No 17 From C T Metcalfe to N B Edmonstone, dated May 29, 1811

Singh prepared to face him¹. A minor skirmish followed between the two in which Mohammad Shah Khan was defeated. He retreated towards the camp of Amir Khan who was encamped at Toojar in Jaipur². While retreating, he was harassed by the Shekhawats³. At this time, Sindhia taking advantage of the weakness of the Raja put forth his own demands of tribute and pressed for it vigorously.

In the meantime, Amir Khan, who was exposed to severe insults, played havoc in the Jaipur Raj. The Jaipur Darbar prepared hundis for ten lakhs but suspended the delivery, in order to obtain some guarantee from Amir Khan against further plunder⁴. As no security was forthcoming so the payment was delayed and ultimately denied. The reason for the denial of it was the kaleidiscopic changes taking place in the Ministry at Jaipur, where Thakur Megh Singh was thrown out by the favourites of Sawai Jagat Singh⁵. They advocated a stiff and aggressive policy against the encroachments of the Pathan leader. The move to get tough was spearheaded by Khushali Ram Bohra who joined the Ministry in July, 1811⁶. To avenge the disgrace, Megh Singh joined hands with the invaders. The Shekhawats resolved to help Sawai Jagat Singh. Khushali Ram Bohra tried to placate the Pathan Sardars and in case of failure determined to oust them⁷.

During the time when such decisions were under consideration by the Jaipur Ministry, Mohammad Shah Khan joined Amir Khan. He asked Jaipur Raja for an instantaneous compliance

1 N A O I : F & S, July 12 1811 Cons No 1 From C T Metcalfe to N B Edmonstone dated June 28, 1811

2 Prinsep *op cit* p 404

3 N A O I : F & P Sept 20 1811 Cons No 10 From R Strachey to Lieut -Gen Hewett

4 N A O I : F & P, June 4 1811, Cons No 17 From C T Metcalfe to N B Edmonstone, dated May 29 1811

5 N A O I : F & P, Aug 2, 1811, Cons No 43 From R Strachey to Lieut Gen Hewett

6 N A O I : F & P, Aug 23 1811, Cons No 15 From R Strachey to N B Edmonstone, dated July 31 1811

7 N A O I : F & P Sept 24, 1811 Cons No 10 From R Strachey to Lieut -Gen Hewett

with his demands¹ The two forces faced each other at a short distance of ten miles, and the hostilities seemed to erupt any moment² Behind the scenes, the Jaipur Ministry was delaying the settlement of contributions demanded They hoped of being assisted by the army of the Shekhawats after the rains³ At the same time as the demands of the Pathan leader were too high so the negotiations were suspended⁴ In the skirmishes that followed, the Kachwahs cut off the supplies of the Pathans and plundered their foraging parties⁵ Both the parties were feeling demoralised—Jaipur for not getting help from the Shekhawats for fear of their territory being overrun by the enemy, and the Pathans for encamping in a far off land The initiative for restoring peace was taken by Jaipur⁶ Dina Ram Bohra and Bah Ram Vyas were sent to Amir Khan⁷ Sawai Jagat Singh also impressed upon Maharaja Man Singh to use his good offices to reach a settlement with Amir Khan An agreement was concluded through Dina Ram Bohra⁸ The contributions were fixed at 17 lakhs of Rupees Out of this 11 lakhs were to be paid by hundies, payable⁹ on the departure of Amir Khan from the Jaipur frontier and remaining 6 lakhs in six months¹⁰ Mehtab Rai remained at Jaipur to collect the hundies He realised 7 lakhs of rupees by the middle of December,

1 NAOI F & P Sept 20, 1811, Cons. No 12 From CT Metcalfe to NB Edmonstone dated Aug 27, 1811

2 Sitamow Parcha dated 24 Shaban 1226 H (12 9 1811) No 166/25

3 Sitamow *Ibid*

4 NAOI F & P Sept 27, 1811, Cons No 42 From R Strachey to NB Edmonstone

5 NAOI F & P Sept 27 1811 Cons No 57 From CT Metcalfe to NB Edmonstone dated Sept 10, 1811

6 NAOI F & P, Oct 25 1811 Cons No 41 From R Strachey to Lieut Gen Hewitt

7 DOAB From Maharaja Sawai Jagat Singh to Maharaja Man Singh, dated Kartik Sud: 8 1868 VS (25 10 1811), Kharita Section No 244

8 NAOI F & P Nov 29, 1811 Cons No 9 From R Strachey to Lieut Gen Hewitt dated Nov 8 1811

9 DOAB From Rai Ratan Lal to Mehta Suraj Mal Rao halyan Mal and Singha Patch Rai dated Kartik Sud: 1, 1868 VS (18 10 1811)

10 NAOI F & P Nov 29 1811 Cons No 16 From CT Metcalfe to NB Edmonstone dated Nov 7, 1811

1811¹ But this was not the end of Jaipur's humiliations

The political instability at Jaipur made Man Singh,² the pretender, active to capture the Gadi of Jaipur³ He secured asylum with Sindhia who employed him as a tool to coerce Jagat Singh Man Singh also solicited the help of the Company⁴ in regaining his lost claims The Company took it to be of a dubious nature and hence gave no encouragement to him⁵

Amir Khan, meanwhile, proceeded to Lawa, a dependency of Jaipur He again began to lay waste the country⁶ Lawa was besieged⁷ Seeing such depredations, Sawai Jagat Singh made an appeal to the Company to take Jaipur under their protection He even showed his willingness to pay such sums which Sindhia and Holkar had been granted The Company refused to enter into such treaties in view of their declared policy of non-interference in the affairs of the State⁸ Providence came to the help of Jaipur as Amir Khan retired to Bhanpura early in 1812⁹ to condole the death of Jaswant Rao Holkar¹⁰ He then proceeded to Jodhpur where he was called by Maharaja Man Singh

In the meantime, Mohammad Shah Khan because of his

-
- 1 Sitamow Pareha, dated 5 Zilhijja, 1226 H (20.12.1811), No 143,65
 - 2 Man Singh declared himself to be the son of Prithvi Singh, brother of the late Maharaja Pratap Singh, on whose death he was sent to Kishangarh, his maternal house for purposes of security
 - 3 N.A.O.I : F & P, Dec 26, 1811, Cons No 45 Received Sept 3, 1811 Translation of a petition from Man Singh
 - 4 N.A.O.I : F & P, June 14, 1811, Cons No 19 From CT Metcalfe to N.B Edmonstone, dated May 29, 1811
 - 5 N.A.O.I : F & P, Dec 26, 1811 Cons No 46 From J Monckton Personal Secretary to R Strachey to GG
 - 6 N.A.O.I : F & P, Dec 13, 1811, Cons No 16 From CT Metcalfe to N.B Edmonstone, dated Nov 27, 1811
 - 7 N.A.O.I : F & P, Jan 17, 1812, Cons. No 27 From R Strachey to Lord Minto dated Dec 30, 1811
 - 8 N.A.O.I : F & P, Jan. 25, 1812, Cons No 31 From CT Metcalfe to N.B Edmonstone dated Jan 4, 1812
 - 9 N.A.O.I : F & P, Feb 8, 1812, Cons No 26 From R Strachey to N.B Edmonstone, dated Jan 24, 1812
 - 10 N.A.O.I : F & P, Feb 8, 1812, Cons No 25 *Ibid.*, dated Jan 22, 1812

mutinous troops gave up his pursuits at Lawa. He left Lal Singh there and himself encamped on the borders of Kishangarh¹. Here he was paid the dues by the Jaipur Raja². While thus Mohammad Shah Khan was at peace for some time, Lal Singh unsuccessfully attempted to capture the fort³. Being much harassed by these prolonged humiliations, the Raja at last agreed⁴ to pay him Rs. 80,000⁵ as war expenses. The siege was given up. Lal Singh joined him at Eksurda where the latter was busy enforcing his demands upon the chief⁶.

The renewed attack on the dominions of Jaipur by Mohammad Shah Khan made Rao Chand Singh avenge the wrong done by him. The discontent among the mutinous troops of the enemy clamouring for pay, encouraged him to make use of the opportunity. Sawai Jagat Singh endorsed his plans and made preparations for it⁷. Rao Chand Singh marched to Bhoorawur⁸ where Mohammad Shah Khan lay encamped⁹. The superiority of the invading army intimidated Mohammad Shah Khan. He was obliged to take shelter at Amurgarh¹⁰. It was besieged by Rao Chand Singh¹¹. Mohammad Shah Khan appealed for help to Amur Khan and Lal Singh. He persuaded his forces to proceed to Amurgarh. This movement distracted the attention of Rao Chand Singh. He raised the siege and marched to meet the advancing army. Mo-

1 N.A.O.I. F & P, Feb. 21, 1812, Cons No 18. From C.T. Metcalfe to N.B. Edmonstone dated Jan. 31, 1812.

2 Sitamow Parcha dated 24 Safar, 1227 H (9.3.1812), No 182/65.

3 N.A.O.I. F & P May 8 1812 Cons No 19 From R. Strachey to Lord Minto dated April 22, 1812.

4 N.A.O.I. F & P May 29 1812, Cons No 6 From R. Strachey to Lord Minto dated May 11 1812.

5 Prinsep *op cit* p. 411.

6 N.A.O.I. F & P, June 25 1812, Cons No 35 From R. Strachey to Lord Minto dated June 7, 1812.

7 N.A.O.I. F & P July 31, 1812, Cons No 8 *Ibid.*, dated June 11, 1812.

8 A fort in the Bharatpur territory.

9 N.A.O.I. F & P Sept 11 1812 Cons No 31 From R. Strachey to Lord Minto dated Aug. 22 1812.

10 It was built by Amur Khan on the site of the old fort of Bhoorawur.

11 N.A.O.I. F & P Oct 2, 1812 Cons No 19 From C.T. Metcalfe to N.B. Edmonstone dated Sept 10 1812.

hammad Shah Khan also left Amirgarh, proceeded towards Madhoorajpurah¹ to join Amir Khan who had hastened from Jodhpur to help him². The combined forces took up their positions at Madhoorajpurah³. Since the junction of the two, there was a lull in the pursuits of Rao Chand Singh⁴. Skirmishes followed between the rival forces. Amir Khan was defeated at Raj Mahal⁵. Mohammad Shah Khan and Lal Singh pursued their depredations at Madhoorajpurah⁶.

Amir Khan after the defeat reached the outskirts of Jaipur. The Jaipur Darbar was hard-pressed by the internal turmoils at the court. Therefore, Sawai Jagat Singh sought reconciliation through Bala Ram Vyas, the Jodhpur Vakil at the court of Jaipur⁷. Sawai Jagat Singh also despatched his Vakils to Daulat Rao Sindhia to seek his help. As his plans did not materialise, so he tried to conciliate Amir Khan through Singhai, Indraj and Misher Sheo Narain. Amir Khan accepted 12 lakhs of rupees as his dues from Jaipur⁸. He agreed to withdraw his forces from there⁹. The mode of payment was laid down for a later date¹⁰. The sum was actually handed over during Sep-

1 20 miles south west of Jaipur near the river Banas

2 (a) N A O I : F & P, Oct. 23, 1812 Cons No 44 From R Strachey to Lord Minto, dated Oct 6 1812

(b) Sitamow Parcha, dated 20, Ruzman 1227 H (4 10 1812) No 33/65

3 N.A.O.I : F & P, Nov 25 1812 Cons No 5 From R Strachey to Lord Minto, dated Oct 31, 1812

4 N.A.O.I : F & P, Dec 4, 1812, Cons No 14 From CT Metcalfe to N B Edmonstone, dated Nov 6, 1812

5 South west of Tonk on the river Banas

6 N.A.O.I : F & P, Dec 26, 1812, Cons No 10 From R Strachey to Lord Minto, dated Dec 4 1812

7 N.A.O.I : F & P, March 6 1813 Cons No 36 From R Strachey to Lord Minto

8 Sitamow Parcha, dated 13 Rajab, 1228 H (12 7 1813), No 278/25

9 Sitamow Parcha, dated 26 Zulhijja, 1227 H (31 12 1812) No 142/25.

10 (a) N.A.O.I : F & P, Nov 12, 1813 Cons No 1 From CT Metcalfe to John Adam, Esq., dated Oct 23 1813

(b) Sitamow : Parcha, dated 2 Shawwal, 1228 H (28 9 1813) No 195/65

(c) Half was to be paid at an early date comprising two lakhs in kind 2,75,000 rupees in hundis and the rest 1,25,000 in cash

tember 1813¹ For the balance it was stipulated that it would be paid after the complete evacuation of the territories by him² Amir Khan insisted upon Maharaja Man Singh being a party to the agreement as he had no faith in the vague promises of the Jaspur Darbar³ This happy consummation of Amir Khan could not be executed

In the meantime, Amir Khan had also to face a new problem of punishing the Raja of Kishangarh for his attempt on his father in law who had entered Kishangarh to raise money The Raja made a complaint to Maharaja Man Singh against the illegal demands⁴ When the forces could not make any headway they asked Amir Khan to come to their help Amir Khan could not ignore this and reached Kishangarh post-haste and fixed Rs 12,000 as the yearly dues⁵ He realised Rs 50,000 against the expenses of this expedition⁶

Amir Khan, after settling these affairs, dashed towards Bundi He directed his operations against Nainwa, one of the principal places, and extorted Rs 60,000 from there.⁷ He reached Kaluk by the end of December, 1813⁸ He laid siege

- 1 Sitamow Parcha, dated 2 Shawwal, 1228 H (28 9 1813), No 195/65
- 2 (a) Sitamow Parcha dated 4 Zilhiya, 1228 H (28 11 1813), No 115/65
(b) Sitamow Parcha dated 3 Shawwal 1228 H (29 9 1813), No 43/65
(c) Amir Khan had established his thansa at Hindon.
- 3 Sitamow Parcha dated 4 Shawwal 1228 H (30 9 1813), No 21/65
- 4 D O A B Dastari Records, Basta No 4, file No 3, letter No 33 From Kishangarh to Maharaja Man Singh dated Maghar Sudi 3, 1869 V S (7 12 1812)
- 5 D O A B Dastari Records, Basta No 4, file No 3, letter No 30. From Kishangarh to Maharaja Man Singh, dated Magh Budi 3, 1869 V S (19 1 1813)
- 6 D O A B Dastari Records, Basta No 4, file No 3 letter No 28 From Kishangarh to Maharaja Man Singh, dated Magh Sudi 14 1869 V S (14 2 1813)
- 7 P R C Vol XIV letter No 1-2 pp 206-07, dated Nov 21, 1813 From R Strachey to GG
- 8 Sitamow Parcha dated 8 Muharram 1229 H (31 12 1813) No 141/25

to it but the fort was strongly defended. Seeing no better alternative Amir Khan accepted Rs 4,000 as the dues¹

As the Jaipur Ministry had become a defaulter, so Amir Khan plotted to overthrow it. He thought of replacing it by Misser Sheo Narain who promised to clear the dues, if installed as the Dewan². Such was his ascendancy at Jaipur that the Maharaja could not refuse it. The Maharaja appointed Sheo Narain as desired by him. Misser Sheo Narain asked Amir Khan to leave Hindon which had been occupied by his generals as a condition for the payment. But Doondie Khan, who had made himself supreme at Hindon, did not expect to reap any benefit from the money likely to be paid to Amir Khan by the Jaipur Darbar. As such, he was not prepared to give it up³. Consequently, Amir Khan and Mohammad Shah Khan attacked him and forced him to quit the place. Amir Khan then evacuated the thanas, which were in turn occupied by the Jaipur forces⁴. The Jaipur Darbar made good the promise by paying him the hundis. Amir Khan then busied himself at Kishangarh and was able to realise Rs 40,000 from the Raja⁵.

The respite from the depredations of Amir Khan was utilised by Sawai Jagat Singh for concluding bilateral marriages

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- 1 Sitamow Parcha, dated 27 Zilhijja, 1228 H (21.12.1813), No 69/25
 - 2 Sitamow parcha, dated 19 Jamadal akhir, 1228 H (19.6.1813), No 37/65
 - 3 (a) N A O I F & P, March 18, 1814, Cons. No 25 From C.T. Metcalfe to John Adam Esq., dated Feb 25, 1814
(b) Sitamow Parcha, dated 19 Safar, 1229 H (10.2.1814), No 75/65
 - 4 (a) Sitamow : Parcha, dated 24 Rajab 1229 H (11.7.1814), No 84/25
(b) Sitamow : Parcha, dated 28 Rajab 1229 H (16.7.1814) No 193/25
(c) Sitamow Parcha, dated 17 Shaban 1229 H (4.8.1814), No 20, 65
(d) N A O I : F & P April, 15, 1814, Cons. No 40 From C.T. Metcalfe to John Adam, Esq., dated March 29 1814
 - 5 Sitamow Parcha, dated 19 Zilhijja, 1229 H (2.12.1814), No 92/25

between the two houses of Jaipur and Jodhpur¹ Man Singh had agreed to give his daughter to Sawai Jagat Singh and accept the hand of his sister² The ceremonies were performed at Murwa Sawai Jagat Singh was married on Bhadra Sudi 8, 1870 V S (13 9 1813), and Maharaja Man Singh on Bhadra Sudi 10, 1869 V S³ (4 9 1813) At the persuasion of Maharaja Man Singh who regarded Amir Khan as his brother, he was granted an interview by Sawai Jagat Singh The latter had him seated on a footing of equality⁴ Had this consummation been effected earlier, it would have marked a turning point in the history of Rajputana This would have paved the way for unity among the Rajputs and saved Rajputana from the evil designs of Amir Khan, the Marathas and the Pindaris chiefs

1 (a) Sitamow Parcha dated 10 Safar, 1229 H (1 2 1814), No 58/65

(b) D O A B From Rai Ratan Lal to Maharaja Man Singh, dated Asadh Sudi 4, 1866 V S (6 7 1810), No 126 Arradast Benam Maharajgan

2 Sitamow Parcha, dated 26, Rajab 1228 H (25 7 1813), No 67/65

3 (a) D O A B From Salig Ram to Numbhar Kumbhaji, dated Bhadra Sudi 6 1870 V S, Khatut Ahalkaran

(b) D O A B Jodhpur Records Arzi Bahi No 5, folio 16 A, dated Ashoj Sudi 14, 1870 V S (23 8.1813)

(c) N A O I F & S, Nov 12, 1813, Cons No 1 From C T Metcalfe to John Adam Esq, dated Oct 23, 1813

The newspaper of Nawab Amir Khan gives only one date for the two marriages as 6 Ramzan, 1228 H Parcha, dated 26 Rajab, 1229 H (25 7 1813) No 67/65

Jodhpur Rajya Ki Khayat 4, p 94, gives Bhadra Sudi 8 and Bhadra Sudi 9, 1870 (September 3rd and 4th 1813) In view of these different authorities the date as given in the Parcha of Nawab Ameer Khan should not be taken seriously

Ojha Jodhpur II, pp 815 16, mentions that the marriages were to be performed on Bhadra Sudi 8 and 9 1870 V S at Murwa and Rupnagar and not at Murwa alone as mentioned by the Akhbar of Amir Khan

Jodhpur Rajya Ki Khayat 4, p 94 gives Rupnagar as the venue of the two marriages

4 (a) Prinsep, *op cit*, p 423

(b) Dastar Komwar Vol IX pp 245 50 1870 V S

(c) D O A B From Misser Shoo Narayan to Malhar Rao Holkar, dated Phalgun Sudi 5 1870 V S (9 2 1814)

(d) D O A B From Subedar Malhar Rao Holkar to Misser Shoo Narayan dated Phalgun Sudi 2, 1870 V S (22 2 1814)

Soon after the retirement of Amir Khan, Bapooji Sindhia invaded Jaipur¹ He came to realise the arrears of Sindhia² He ruthlessly committed depredations all over the country Sawai Jagat Singh sent Misser Sheo Narayan to meet the challenge³ On the other hand, he addressed letters to Amir Khan with whom Bapooji Sindhia had very cordial relations to mediate The Company was requested for military assistance⁴ Jagat Singh also prevailed upon Daulat Rao Sindhia to stop Bapooji's activities The Company not only rejected his request but even declined to give any advice⁵ Amir Khan advised Bapooji to leave the Jaipur State unravaged⁶ Daulat Rao Sindhia also ordered him to restore peace⁷ But in spite of all this, Bapooji was adamant on securing some money from Jaipur He left it only after he got a promise to receive Rs 50,000⁸ He encamped near Ajmer and realised it⁹ He then left Jaipur

The retirement of Amir Khan and Bapooji Sindhia from Jaipur was a signal for internal dissensions The ex ministers, Rao Chand Singh and Thakur Megh Singh, revolted against Misser Sheo Narayan.¹⁰ The appeal to the Company to take Jaipur under its protection proved unfruitful¹¹ The situation was so serious that Misser Sheo Narayan swallowed a pounded

1 D O A B : From Misser Sheo Narayan to Gokul Das, dated Magh Budi 2, 1870 V S (8 1 1814)

2 (a) Sitamow : Parcha, dated 12 Safar, 1229 H (3 2 1814), No 170/65

(b) Sitamow : Parcha, dated 28 Safar, 1229 H (3 2 1814), No 170/65.

3 (a) Sitamow : Parcha, dated 10 Safar, 1229 H (2 2 1814), No 146/25

(b) N A O I : F & P, July 12, 1814, Cons No 14A From Maharaja Jagat Singh to GG Received March 28, 1814

4 *Ibid*

5 N A O I : F & P, July 12, 1814, Cons No 16 From GG to Maharaja Jagat Singh, dated July 4, 1814

6 Sitamow : Parcha, dated 12 Safar 1229 H (3 2 1814), No 170/65

7 D O A B : From Daulat Rao Sindhia to Maharaja Sawai Jagat Singh, dated Phalgun Budi 5, 1870 V S (9 2 1814)

8 N A O I : F & P, March 18, 1814, Cons No 25 From C T Metcalfe to John Adam, Esq., dated Feb 25, 1814

9 Sitamow : Parcha, dated 12 Rabi ul Awwal 1229 H (4 3 1814), No 193/65

10 P R C : Vol XIV, letter No 153, pp 216-18, dated March 19, 1814

11 N A O I : F & P Sept 27, 1815, Cons. No 27 From C T Metcalfe to John Adam, Esq., dated Sept. 9, 1815

diamond¹ to save himself from disgrace

MISSER Ganesh Narayan, son of the late Sheo Narayan, succeeded him.² The whole of his attention was engrossed in checking the activities of Amir Khan who was once again creating trouble near Ajmer. He forced the Governor to pay him off.³ The distracted affairs at Jaipur provided an opportunity for him to fish in troubled waters. He made his forces move towards Jaipur from three-quarters under Lal Singh, Mehtab Khan and Jamshed Khan.⁴ Even at the time when Jaipur was subjected to this invasion, the rebels did not patch up their differences. Manjee Das advocated a tough and sterner attitude. Raja Lakshman Singh⁵ pleaded to seek the help of Daulat Rao Sindhia against Amir Khan. Misser Ganesh Narayan favoured Manjee Das for he had still fresh the memory of his father's suicide. Raja Lakshman Singh finally gained ascendancy at the court. Sukh Lal was appointed as the Dewan. Manjee Das left Jaipur. They turned out to be rebels. Sukh Lal in vain tried to secure the help of Daulat Rao Sindhia. In the meantime the Pindaris came nearer the city and established their thanas. The Maharaja was highly disappointed with this. He deputed Harnarayan, brother of Rao Sukh Lal, and Chatur Bhuj to negotiate with the Pindaris.⁶ He advised them to plunder Khundlah,⁷ a principality of Jaipur where Manjee Das and others were carrying on their activities.⁸ But this was not done. The failure of Sukh Lal to establish peace made the Maharaja dissolve the

1 N A O I F & P Sept 29 1815 Cons No 29 From C T Metcalfe to John Adam Esq dated Sept 9 1815

2 N A O I F & P Oct 7, 1815 Cons No 59 From C.T Metcalfe to John Adam Esq dated Sept 15, 1815

3 N A O I F & S, Oct 27, 1815 Cons No 23 From R Strachey to GG dated Oct 6 1815

4 N A O I F & P, Nov 10 1815, Cons No 13 From C T Metcalfe to John Adam, Esq dated Oct 15 1815

5 Chief of Seekar

6 N A O I F & P, Nov 17, 1815 Cons No 30 From C T Metcalfe to John Adam, Esq dated Oct 25, 1815

7 N A O I F & P Dec 6 1815 Cons No 16 *Ibid*, dated Nov 7 1815

8 N A O I F & P Dec 16 1815 Cons No 12 *Ibid*, dated Nov 28, 1815

ministry Manjee Das was again installed as the Dewan.¹ He assumed the leadership of all nationalist forces and won over Rao Chand Singh to his side. Gulraj, the Jodhpur general, was also invited for help. The Pindaris and Bapooji Sindhia then retired from Jaipur. Amir Khan only remained encamped.

The policy of the Company had changed by this time. They modified their earlier over-cautious attitude. They realised that they would have to wage war sooner or later against the Pindaris to safeguard their dominions. They thought to gain the co-operation of the Rajput states in it. When the Company showed a favourable inclination towards the Rajputs, Jaipur court was averse to it. Manjee Das advocated a militant line of action. He wished to maintain the integrity and independence of the state out and out. The interference of the Pindaris and Pathans was equally disliked by him as that of the Marathas and the Company. He, to terrify Amir Khan, deputed Shankar Das to open negotiations for a treaty with the Company.² The very news of the negotiations had the desired effect. Amir Khan was afraid of the possible combination of the forces of the Company with Jaipur against him. During this time, the city was gallantly defended by Manjee Das and Rao Chand Singh. The assembling of British forces at Rewari³ made Amir Khan terror-stricken. He began to find out some plausible excuse to retire honourably. He got one soon. The Maharani of Jaipur, Rathoriji, the daughter of Maharaja Man Singh, begged of Amir Khan to show chivalry towards the besieged queens and women folk.⁴ Amir Khan made a virtue of necessity. He retired from Jaipur without loss of face in June 1816.⁵ He was promised the payment of his dues.

Necessity alone prompted his application for protection and when his purpose was served,⁶ the attitude of the Jaipur

1 NAOI : F & P, Feb 3, 1816, Cons No 18 *Ibid*, dated Jan. 7, 1816

2 NAOI : F & S, April 15, 1816, Cons No 45. From CT Metcalfe to John Adam, Esq. dated March 26, 1816

3 Marchioness of Bute, *The Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings* (2 vols., Bunder and Otley, London 1858) Vol II p. 127

4 Millard Wilson *op. cit.*, VII, 128

5 NAOI : F & S, July 6, 1816, Cons No 23. From R. Close to GG

6 NAOI : F & S, Aug. 10, 1816, Cons No 2. From R. Close to John Adam, Esq., dated July 14, 1816

envoy stiffened. This was purely a selfish move of Jaipur which was a disgraceful act in her annals. Jaipur had been trying since long to come to terms with the Company but when the latter showed signs for it Jaipur failed to make use of it. The negotiations for a treaty failed because no agreement could be reached on the amount of tribute. A second attempt in November, 1816, met the same fate. By the middle of 1817, Manjee Das was imprisoned and the last impediment to the British alliance was removed.

The activities of Amir Khan and his lieutenants were not restricted to Jaipur and its suburbs alone. Mewar also was not spared of his ravaging inroads. In Baisakh 1866 V.S. (20.4.1810) to (18.5.1810), Amir Khan came to Mewar. He threatened to raze the sacred temple of Eklingji to the ground, if he was not paid 11 lakhs of rupees.¹ He created disturbances everywhere. There seemed a possibility of a sanguinary showdown with him. The good offices of Maharaja Man Singh were tapped by the Maharana to appease Amir Khan. The Jodhpur Maharaja prevailed upon him to give up his pursuits.² But Amir Khan did not care for it. The Rana finding no way out had to promise it. Amir Khan then left for Jaipur leaving Jamshed Khan to realise it. He practised all the atrocities which he could conceive of. As Col Tod puts it, "No women could safely venture out and a decent garment or turban was sufficient to attract their cupidity."³ He reduced Mewar to a lump of barren and scattered villages. Again in 1870 V.S. Jamshed Khan demanded the dues from the Maharana. The Rana had no money left with him. So Mewar again was subjec-

1 Banera. From Kalyan Mal of Rupnagar to Bhim Singh, dated Asadh Sudi 11, 1868 V.S. (20.7.1812) *Ojha, Rajputana Ka Itihas*, Vol III, p. 1149.

2 (a) Banera. From Maharaja Man Singh to Bhim Singh of Banera, dated Bhadra Budi 12, 1869 V.S. (2.9.1812) File No. 173, letter No. 7.

(b) Banera. From Singharaj Indraj to Bhim Singh of Banera dated Bhadra Budi 13, 1869 V.S. (3.9.1812).

(c) Banera. From Maharaja Man Singh to Bhim Singh of Banera, dated Bhadra Sudi 9 1869 V.S. (15.9.1812) File No. 173, letter No. 6.

3 Tod op cit I 373

ted to spoliation. The Rana called Raja Bhim Singh of Banera to relieve him of his difficulties. Raja Bhim Singh then visited Udaipur. He was successful in hammering out a decision. The dues were to be realised from the feudatories of Mewar with the help of Jamshed Khan and he was to be paid out of it. The Maharana himself accompanied him up to Chittor to impart an air of legality.

The influence of the Pindari chiefs almost eclipsed that of Sindhia. Sindhia, as such, sent Bapooji to Mewar. He conferred upon him the power of administration and asked him to realise the arrears from the Rana. This brought him into conflict with Jaswant Rao Bhow,¹ and Jamshed Khan. Early in 1810, Bapooji reached Hamargarh.² By the middle of the year he was seen at Bhinder levying contributions. The timely interference of Daulat Rao Sindhia restored harmony for some time.³ Bapooji advanced towards Udaipur and took up his residence in the city. On an assurance from the Maharana of clearing the dues earlier he left Udaipur.⁴ He encamped near Chittor⁵ where he remained till November, 1811.⁶ His departure brought in the hordes of Amir Khan and Lal Singh. The Maharana unsuccessfully tried to sign an alliance with the Company and despatched Bal Mukund in November, 1811 for it. During all this time, Bapooji defended Mewar against Jaswant Rao Bhow and the Pindari chiefs.⁷ He attacked the fort of Pontelah which was under the possession of Daud Khan.⁸ It was captured by the end of March 1812,⁹ and returned to the Rana¹⁰ on his

1 Jaswant Rao Bhow was sent by Daulat Rao Sindhia to Mewar.

2 P.R.C. : Vol. XIV, letter No. 59.

3 N.A.O.I. : F & P, Aug. 2, 1811, Cons. No. 45. From R. Strachey to Lieut. General Hewett, dated July 15, 1811.

4 N.A.O.I. : F & P, Sept. 20, 1811, Cons. No. 10 *Ibid*.

5 N.A.O.I. : F & P, Oct. 25, 1811, Cons. No. 41 *Ibid*.

6 N.A.O.I. : F & P, Nov. 29, 1811, Cons. No. 9 *Ibid*, dated Nov. 8, 1811.

7 N.A.O.I. : F & P, May 8, 1812, Cons. No. 39. From R. Strachey to Lord Minto, dated April 22, 1812.

8 N.A.O.I. : F & P, Feb. 8, 1812, Cons. No. 24 *Ibid*, dated Jan. 19, 1812.

9 N.A.O.I. : F & P, April 10, 1812, Cons. No. 19. From R. Strachey to Lord Minto, dated March 27, 1812.

10 N.A.O.I. : F & P, Nov. 25, 1812, Cons. No. 5 *Ibid*, dated Oct. 31, 1812.

agreeing to pay a subsidy for it

The activities of Bapooji and the constant conflict between the various Maratha generals and the Pindaris in Mewar had given it a melancholy appearance. The Maharana was highly disgusted with this chronic malady and wished for a honourable compromise. Bapooji was also not happy as he had to fight in many quarters for realising the money. To resolve the tangle his representatives, along with their counterparts from Jaswant Rao Bhow and the Maharana, met at Dhola Magra. It was agreed between them that Bapooji and Jaswant Rao would each have 3½ lakhs of rupees from Mewar¹. The condition of Mewar was so deplorable that she could not even pay this amount. The Maharana, as such, again became a passive spectator to plunder at the hands of the Pindaris and the Maratha generals. Bapooji was again active in plundering Mewar. The Rana was staying in his camp for some time and this added weight to his pretensions. When it could not satisfy him he captured many respectable nobles of Mewar in the hope of realising his dues². He did not even spare the Brahmans³ from his covetousness and carried many of them to Ajmer. They remained in his captivity till the treaty with the Company in 1818 A D set them free. The arrest of the Brahmans was a deplorable deviation from the traditional lofty ideals of the Marathas who regarded them to be super-human and accorded them the highest place in society.

When Mewar was thus fleeced by Bapooji, Jamshed Khan continued his atrocities at Nimbahera in Mewar. He engaged himself in driving away the cattle from the Jagir of Rana Khan Bhai⁴. Sukha Ram, commanding the forces of Sindhua, was encamping at Malharagarh⁵. Sindhua thought that the Pindaris swollen with the conquest of Mewar would become too formid-

1 *Tol op cit* I 373

2 Indian Historical Records Commission, 1946. The document relating to Bapooji Sindhua's invasion of Mewar by Dr G N Sharma

3 *Ibid*

4 P R C Vol XIV letter No 17, pp 194-204 dated Aug. 13 1816
Intelligence from Rajeshwar Bajerow

5 20 miles from Nimbahera

able to be suppressed. He, therefore, ordered Sukha Ram to check them. Jamshed Khan fought for four days but was defeated.

The Maharana was much alarmed at the activities of Bapooji Sindhia, Sukha Ram and Jamshed Khan. He sent Thakoor Ajit Singh in 1815 requesting Daulat Rao Sindhia to relieve him from these excesses¹. Sindhia never wished to serve the Rana at the cost of offending Bapooji Sindhia,² and so he maintained an atmosphere of suspense. It made Thakoor Ajit Singh leave the court of Sindhia in February, 1816³. His failure led Maharana to play into the hands of the Company. He sent Bakshi Balmukund to the Company with the request to take Mewar under their protection⁴. But the Company evaded it as a treaty with the Maharana would be in contravention of their treaty with Daulat Rao Sindhia⁵.

During the time when the Maharana was making attempts to win over Sindhia and the Company to his side, internal dissensions raised their heads. The Chundawuts once again gained predominance in the Darbar. They even had the audacity of getting Satidas, the Prime Minister, and his nephew, Jai Chand, murdered in October, 1815. The twin murders vitiated the political atmosphere of Mewar. It was utilised by Jaswant Rao Bhow in assuming control over the Rana⁶. Bapooji Sindhia was busy collecting his forces against Amir Khan in northern Rajputana for checking his growing power there. As soon as he heard of the intentions of the Pindaris⁷ to drive out the Marathas from Mewar, he patched up his differences with Jaswant Rao Bhow and sent detachments to his assistance. Rajungarh⁸ was

1. Baghubir Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

2. N.A.O.I. F & P, Dec. 16, 1815, Cons. No. 12. From G. Wellesley to John Adam, Esq.

3. N.A.O.I. : F & P, March 2, 1816, Cons. No. 116. *Ibid.*

4. N.A.O.I. F & P, June 6, 1816, Cons. No. 36. Received April 10, 1815. From the Rana of Udaipur.

5. N.A.O.I. F & P, May 16, 1815, Cons. No. 16. From John Adam Esq., to F. Warden Esq., Secretary to the Govt. of Bombay.

6. N.A.O.I. : F & P, Dec. 16, 1815. Cons. No. 12. From G. Wellesley to John Adam, Esq.

7. Jamshed Khan and Diler Khan.

8. 36 miles north-east of Udaipur.

captured and Jamshed Khan was made to retire from Mewar¹. Jaswant Rao then proceeded against Diler Khan, who was encamped near Jawad². The Maharana under Amar Singh also let his forces accompany Jaswant Rao. The combined forces inflicted a crushing defeat upon Diler Khan. It made him leave Mewar. But even after this Mewar was occasionally visited by the Marathas and the Pindaris who laid it waste. These excesses of the Marathas and the Pindaris convinced the Maharana that the protection of the Company was the only panacea for his ills. But so long as the Company did not modify its earlier stand in regard to the Rajput states it was impossible for the Maharana to be relieved of his worries.

The other states of Rajputana were also not spared the ravages of Amir Khan and his commanders. Jodhpur and Kishangarh were easily accessible but even the distant land of Bikaner witnessed the horrors of their invasions. Early in 1815, Mohammad Shah Khan reached Jodhpur to realise the monthly arrears of his troops. As soon as the Maharaja came to know of it, he assured him of making the payment earlier³. But the vague promises could not satisfy him, so he plundered Sambhar and Merta⁴. The Maharaja again made a bid to satisfy⁵ him but, as the activities of Mohammad Shah Khan did not stop, the Maharaja asked him to realise his dues from Jaisalmer, Palanpur, Bahthrad and Kachbhuj⁶. But Mohammad Shah Khan wanted ready money at the time to quell the disturbances in his forces, so he continued his devastations. Singhyi Indraj was much troubled to see Merta occupied by him. He opened

1 N A O I : P & P, Dec. 16, 1815, Cons. No. 12. From G. Wellestey to John Adam, Esq.

2 N A O I : P & P, Jan. 20, 1816, Cons. No. 43. From G. Wellestey to John Adam, Esq.

3 D O A B : Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No. 5, folio 141 B, dated Phalgun Sudi 6, 1871 V.S. (17.3.1815). From Jodhpur to Mohammad Shah Khan.

4 D O A B : Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No. 5, folio 142 A, dated Chaitra Sudi 8, 1872 V.S. (21.3.1815).

5 D O A B : Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No. 5, folio 142 B, dated Chaitra Sudi 12, 1872 V.S. (7.4.1815).

6 D O A B : Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No. 5, folio 142 A, dated Baisakh Sudi 1, 1872 V.S. (24.4.1815).

negotiations with him. He offered to pay three lakhs of rupees on condition of the territories being evacuated by him. Mohammad Shah Khan agreed to it. The hundis were delivered to Rai Data Ram through Anoop Ram of Jodhpur¹.

During the time when Mohammad Shah Khan was busy at Jodhpur, Amir Khan marched to Kussombhar and Latio in Bikaner. He levied contributions there². Then he marched towards Jodhpur for realising his arrears. He was met by the Vakils of the latter who promised to pay him 18 lakhs of rupees as the balance of the pay of the forces stationed there³. It was decided to pay the sum soon after it was collected from the Jagirdars⁴. Amir Khan agreed to deduct the "Paimali" charges from it. Thus the whole dues were reduced to 8 lakhs of rupees⁵. It was levied on the Jagirdars⁶. The Maharaja invited him to his palace but Amir Khan was apprehensive of some foul designs on the part of the ministers and so refused to see him.

When Amir Khan was staying at Jodhpur, some Thakoor⁷ made a bid to hire him for assassinating their rival, Singhvi Indraj, whose Ministry was becoming odious to the people.

1 (a) Sitamow Parcha, dated 24 Shaban, 1230 H (1815), No 202/75

(b) Sitamow Parcha, dated 26 Shaban, 1230 H (3815), No 203/75

2 N A O I. F & P, June 28, 1815, Cons No 52 From CT Metcalfe to John Adam, Esq., dated May 21, 1815

3 (a) Sitamow. Parcha, dated 9 Shawwal, 1230 H (13815), No 45/25

(b) It included three lakhs for the personal benefit of Amir Khan

(c) N A O I. : F & P, Oct 20, 1815, Cons No 47 From CT Metcalfe to John Adam, Esq., dated Oct 3, 1815.

4 Sitamow : Parcha, dated 21 Shawwal, 1230 H (31015), No 78/25

5 (a) Sitamow : Parcha, dated 26 Shawwal, 1230 H (101015), No 120/75

(b) N.A O I. : F & P, Nov 10, 1815, Cons No 13 From CT Metcalfe to John Adam, Esq

(c) D O A B : From Maharaja Man Singh to Maharaja Sewai Jagat Singh dated Kartik Budi 13, 1872 V S (301015)

6 N A O I. F & P, Oct 20 1815, Cons No 46 From CT Metcalfe to John Adam, Esq., dated Sept. 23, 1815

7 Keshari Singh and Bur Singh of Asop : Bakhtawar Singh of Umbha, Sultan Singh of Numa and Pratap Singh of Ladoo. *Prinsep op cit* p 433

Amir Khan himself was not on good terms with him. He took him to be the stumbling block in his way of realising the tribute from Jodhpur. He, therefore, agreed to it. Taking advantage of the invitation extended to him by the Maharaja he sought his permission to send his deputies for the mode of settlement of the payment. Hastobuddin Khan and Mohammad Saeed Khan accompanied by 15 Pathans met Singhvi Indraj on October 9, 1815¹. As was planned, the pathan soldiers executed the murders of Singhvi Indraj and Vyas Deonath,² the spiritual guide of the Maharaja. Hastob Khan was slightly wounded and two of the Pathans were killed³. The murders of the chiefs created a sense of indignation among the Rathor Chiefs. They made up their mind to drive away Amir Khan from their land.

The deaths of the two prominent advisers made the Maharaja apathetic toward administration. Soon the politics of Jodhpur was riven with rival factions contesting for holding the reins of Government. Goolraj brother of Singhvi Indraj, and Akhay Chand, another powerful chieftain, were in the thick of the tussle. They sought the help of the Marathas and Amir Khan. Goolraj made overtures to Bapooji Sindhia on promise of adjusting all the dues of his master⁴. Akhay Chand brought in Amir Khan. The two forces remained encamped at a short distance from each other⁵ and the Maharaja favoured Goolraj for his

1 N A O I F & P, Nov 17, 1815, Cons No 29. From C T Metcalfe to John Adam, Esq., dated Oct 28, 1815. Jodhpur Rajya Ki Khayat 4 p 102, says that 27 Pathans accompanied Hastobuddin Khan.

2 (a) N A O I F & P Nov 10 1815, Cons No 14. From C T Metcalfe to John Adam Esq., dated Oct 17, 1815 {

(b) D O A B Dastari Records, Basta No 4 file No 3, letter No 4, dated Ashoj Sudi 15 1872 V S (18 10 1815). From Maharaja Man Singh of Kishangarh to Maharaja Man Singh of Jodhpur. The date of the murder as given in Vir Vinod quoted by G H Ojha in *Jodhpur Rajya Ki Itihas* Part II, p 818, is Chaitra Sudi 8, 1873 V S (5 4 1816). But in the light of the above cited sources it is evident that it must have been committed somewhere in October 1815.

3 N A O I F & P Nov 10, 1815, Cons No 16. From C T Metcalfe to John Adam, Esq., dated Oct 21, 1815.

4 N A O I F & P Jan 13, 1816, Cons. No 27. From C T Metcalfe to John Adam Esq.

5 N A O I F & S June 13 1816, Cons No 10. From R Close to John Adam, Esq. dated May 31, 1816.

patriotic feelings. The Maharaja despatched his forces under him for subjugating Amir Khan and Akhay Chand¹. The country was continually ravaged. The Maharaja wrote to Amir Khan that his ravaging the territory was poor advertisement for their friendship, but this fell on the deaf ears². On the one hand, the exactions of Bapooji Sindhia became so acute³ that the Maharaja thought it prudent to make some agreement with Amir Khan⁴. The Jodhpur Darbar agreed to pay him one and a half lakhs of rupees⁵ on condition of his leaving the land⁶. The agreement was disliked by Bapooji. He continued his exactions at Jodhpur,⁷ till he was re-called by Daulat Rao Sindhia⁸. The retirement of the two was followed by internal dissensions which culminated in the murder of Goolraj. The Maharaja was highly disgusted with the day-to-day disturbances in his Darbar. Kanwar Chattar Singh was also eagerly awaiting to crown himself. So, the Maharaja relinquished the Gadi in his favour⁹.

1 D O A B From Daulat Rao Sindhia to Maharaja Sawai Jagat Singh, dated Magasr Budi 11, 1873 V S (17 10 1816), Kharita Section, Gwalior Bundle

2 (a) D O A B Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No 5, folio 17 A, dated Posh Sudi 14 1872 V S (29 12 1815) From Jodhpur to Daulat Rao Sindhia

(b) D O A B Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No 5, folio 46 A dated Bhadra Budi Amavash 1873 V S (23 8 1816) From Jodhpur to Bapooji

(c) D O A B Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No 5, folio 40 A dated Kartik Sudi 9, 1873 V S (29 10 1816) From Jodhpur to Bapooji

3 D O A B Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No 5 folio 18 A, dated Phalgun Sudi 12, 1873 V S (28 2 1817) From Jodhpur to Daulat Rao Sindhia

4 P R C Vol XIV, letter No 277, dated Jan 31, 1817 pp 334 35

5 N A O I F & S, Feb 11, 1817, Cons No 1 From R Close to John Adam, Esq, Jan 23, 1817

6 Prinsep, *op cit*, pp 457 60

7 D O A B Jodhpur Records, Arzi Bahi No 5, folio 72 A, dated Chaitra budi 7, 1874 V S (25 3 1817)

8 (a) D O A B Dastari Records Baste No 6 file No 5 letter No 74, dated Jaisath Budi 14, 1874 V S (15 5 1817) From Daulat Rao Sindhia to Maharaja Man Singh

(b) N A O I F & S, May 7, 1817 Cons No 47 From R Close to GG, dated April 27, 1817

9 Prinsep *op cit*, pp 461 63

The ever increasing unroads of the Pindaris and the Marathas made the Rajputs as well as the Company aware of the recurring disadvantages that they would be reaping by mutual wranglings. They planned actively to co-ordinate their activities.

Sir Charles Metcalfe, the Resident at Delhi, envisaged as early as 1811 a change in the policy of non-intervention followed towards Rajputana. He put forth a bold and comprehensive plan of establishing peace in Rajputana by taking the Rajput states under British protection. But the Company was at the moment not prepared to abandon her declared policy of non-intervention. So nothing tangible could be achieved. The British statesmen also hesitated as the principal Rajput states were taken to be under the influence of the Marathas according to the treaties of 1505 and, hence, without abrogating them it was not possible to embark upon this new policy.

The new proposals were shelved till the arrival of Lord Hastings. By this time the colossal Pindari problem had become a menace to the British.¹ Metcalfe was convinced of the need for suppressing their activities to maintain peace and safeguard the British territories.² The co-operation of the Rajput States against the Pindaris would serve both the purposes. A large number of them were in the service of Holkar and Sindhus under the title of Holkarshahs and Sindheshahs and were a source of strength to the two houses of the Marathas. The Governor-General viewed with contempt the policy of non intervention followed by his predecessors. He seemed confirmed in his determination to establish a barrier against the revival of the predatory system. He secured permission from the 'Home Government' for regular warfare against the Pindaris.³ It was specifically laid down to conclude treaties with the Rajput states of Jaipur, Jodhpur, Udaipur, Kota and other smaller states bordering Gujrat where the Pindaries were most active.⁴ It

1 Sardesai, *New History*, op cit., III, 476-78

2 Kaye John William, *The Life and Correspondence of Sir Charles Metcalfe* Vol I pp 423-38

3 Prinsep, H T, *History of the Political and Military Transactions in India during the administration of Marquess of Hastings, 1811-23* (3 Vols. London: Kingsbury, 1825), p 18

4 N A O I P & S, Oct 28, 1817 Cons. No 26 From John Adams, Esq. to C T Metcalfe

was made clear that the states not co-operating in this enterprise would be regarded as inimical to the Company¹

It was decided to abrogate previous treaties with Sindhia and Holkar which precluded an alliance with the Rajput states. In case, the willing consent was not forthcoming readily, it was to be pressed by force of arms. Sindhia consented to it as early as November, 1817, but the battle of Mehidpur had to be waged in December, 1817, against Holkar for securing the same.

Sir Charles Metcalfe was entrusted with the duty of concluding fresh agreements with the states of Rajputana². General letters were issued to all the states asking them to depute their Vakils for negotiating treaties with the Company. It was laid down that the states would cease to have any direct political relations with any other power, the tribute payable to the Marathas by them was now to be paid to the Company. The Company would account for it to the Marathas. Amir Khan, reading the signs of the times, also became anxious to come to terms with the Company and carve out an independent principality for himself under the sanctions of the Company. He threw away the nominal allegiance he owed to Holkar, recognised the paramountcy of the Company and was granted the jagir of Tonk on condition of actively co-operating with the forces of the Company in suppressing the Pindaris³.

The major Rajput states were highly dissatisfied at the invidious treatment meted out to them by the Marathas. They attempted a number of times to enjoy the protection of the British umbrella. But it was not possible for them till the arrival of Lord Hastings.

As the preliminary wars against the Pindaris were expected to be waged in the countries bordering Kota, Metcalfe was instructed as early as Oct., 1817, to conclude agreement with Kota on the broad principles enunciated by the Company⁴. As soon as the proposals reached Zalim Singh he saw in it an opportunity of saving his kingdom from the day-to-day encroachments of

1 Banerjee, *op cit*, p. 226

2 Mehta, *op cit*, p. 128

3 Malleson, *op cit*, p. 169

4 Banerjee, *op cit*, p. 395

the Marathas and the Pindaris¹ Though his Maratha masters were averse to his leanings towards the Company, yet Zalim Singh thought it safe to accept subordination in exchange for the security that the Company would afford A treaty of eleven Articles was signed by Sir Charles Metcalfe on behalf of the Company and Sheodan Singh, Shah Jeevan Ram and Lala Hool Chandra representing Kota, on December 25, 1817² Kota agreed to pay Rs 2,44,720 in Delhi currency as yearly tribute to the Company,³ and abandon her connections with all other powers⁴ A treaty with Karowly was also signed on November 9, 1817,⁵ and ratified the same day⁶

In pursuance of the general letters addressed by the Company, Vyas Bishnu Ram was deputed from Jodhpur for negotiations.⁷ A treaty of ten Articles was concluded on January 6, 1818, and was ratified by the Governor-General⁸ Maharana Bhim Singh also sent his deputation under Thakur Ajeet Singh A treaty containing ten Articles was signed on January 13, 1818⁹ and was ratified by the Governor-General on January 22, 1818

Of the major Rajput states, Jaipur was still away from the fold of British protection The negotiations were long protracted on the question of tribute,¹⁰ till it was signed on April 2, 1818, by Thakur Raval Byreesal Nathawat on behalf of the Maharaja and C.T. Metcalfe representing the Company It was ratified by the Governor-General on April 15, 1818¹¹ Though the major

1 *Ibid*

2 Atchison, *op cit*, pp 149-50

3 A.O.K. Bhandar No 5, Baste No 23

4 N.A.O.I. F & P Feb 6, 1818, Cons No 39 From John Adam, Esq. to Capt Tod

5 N.A.O.I. F & S Dec 5 1817, Cons No 17 From C.T. Metcalfe to John Adam Esq. dated Nov 9, 1817

6 N.A.O.I. F & S Dec 5, 1817, Cons. No 23 From C.T. Metcalfe to John Adam, Esq., dated Nov 9, 1817

7 Kaye, *op cit*. I 463

8 (a) N.A.O.I. F & S, March 6, 1818 Cons No 4 From John Adam, Esq. to C.T. Metcalfe dated Feb 1, 1818

(b) N.A.O.I. F & P, Feb 6, 1818, Cons No 6 *Ibid*, dated Jan. 16, 1818

9 Atchison, *op cit* III 30-31

10 Banerjee *op cit* p 337

11 Atchison *op cit*, III 66-69

Rajput states had been won over but the process continued till, by the end of 1818, almost all the states joined the Company. The state of Sirohi, which had remained outside the fold, accepted the treaty obligations by September, 1823.

The Rajput states, embroiled in the coils of Maratha and Pindari depredations, embraced British protection. They had developed the notion of living under the canopy of one power or the other. Soon after the disintegration of the Mughal Empire they found themselves completely exposed to the degradations of the Marathas. It was becoming increasingly impossible for them to maintain their honour and dignity intact against the inroads of the Marathas and Pindaris. The principal states of Jaipur, Jodhpur, Mewar and Kota had earlier felt the necessity of aligning themselves with the Company and made several unsuccessful attempts for it. But when the treaties were signed, they were forced to accept certain conditions which belied their expectations.

The preliminary Articles of the treaty were of general nature establishing perpetual alliance and friendship between the signatories. They included a responsibility on the part of the Company to protect the principalities of the contracting states against their enemies. These clauses were also generally attached to the treaties which the Marathas signed with the Rajput Rajas but then there was a good gap between the commitments and their execution. The Marathas sided with the Rajputs as long as it suited their convenience, but they showed no scruple about flouting the agreement as and when it militated against their interests. It was inevitable because of the conflicting interests of the two houses of the Marathas. This was further aggravated when Marathas lost all characteristics of a federate body and their generals began to act independently. It was increasingly difficult for the Maratha generals to maintain themselves in an atmosphere of suspense, plots and counter-plots against them in Rajputana. It does not mean that we hold the line of penetration of the Marathas into Rajputana as legal and valid but once they were entrenched in the body politic of Rajputana they took it to be within their power to uphold it at all cost. As there were all out efforts to oust them so they also regarded the agreements as merely scrap of papers.

By the time the Company signed the treaties there was a marked change in the political atmosphere. The Company's superior strength had been recognised by Sindhia, Holkar and Amir Khan. As such there appeared no possibility of signatory parties changing sides. The Rajput states had been so exhaustively fleeced that they did not entertain the idea of forming alliances with the vanquished powers for fear of the old tale being repeated once again. As such, the changed circumstances did not require the need of any infringement in the commitments.

The Rajput states were also to "act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government and acknowledge its supremacy." This was further re-enforced by restricting the head of the signatory states to directing their relations with any chief or state through the British Government alone and to submit all disputes to their arbitration. These conditions imposed by the British Government wiped out the sense of Rajput pride and prestige. It reduced them to a subordinate position to which they had not been subjected at the hands of the Marathas. The Marathas always considered themselves inferior to the Rajputs and felt flattered whenever a treatment of equality was accorded to them. Even Mahadji Sindhia always aspired for such a treatment. He was pleased when the Maharana granted him an audience. Daulat Rao Sindhia took it to be a privilege to get into matrimonial alliance with the house of Udaipur. The Rajputs, as such, breathed an air of superiority. The treaties with the Company in 1818 unequivocally reduced them to the position of chieftains and categorically established the British sovereignty over the Rajput states. In this respect the treaties were no better than those signed with the Marathas. The Rajput States had been subjected to humiliation then as and of the Marathas but were never relegated to a subordinate position as they were given a free hand in dealing with the other states so long as it was not prejudicial to the interests of the Marathas. The primary concern of the Marathas was to realise their dues from the Rajput Rajas. The Company not only realised the customary dues but also forbade any communications with other states.

The paramount power which the Company attained by this treaty naturally provided it with a right to demand pecu-

mary contributions from the Rajput states. To this extent the Company was within its rights but then it did not apply the same yardstick. These Articles in the treaties had a peculiar significance with the states. We shall deal with them separately.

The sixth Article of the treaty with Mewar provided that the Maharana would pay $1/4$ of the revenue of Mewar for five years and after that $3/8$ in perpetuity. The Company had thus an eye on the expanding revenues of the country and was to be profited at the cost of the Maharana. The payment of such a staggering sum from the revenues to the Company left the Maharana in a sore plight. With such meagre sums left to him he was responsible to the public for giving a clean and efficient administration. It was a high rate of insurance for protection. Though the state was saved from the day-to-day encroachments of the Marathas and the Pindaris, but, if Mewar had promised them such substantial sums, the history of Mewar would have been altogether different.

The sixth Article of the treaty with Jaipur laid down that for the first year no tribute was to be paid by the state but in the second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth years after the conclusion of the treaty the tribute to be realised was four, five, six, seven and eight lakhs of Delhi rupees respectively. After that eight lakhs in perpetuity till the revenues touched a figure of forty lakhs a year. The excess after that was to be shared by the signatories. The Company was to be allocated $5/16$ of it. While we have every praise for the sympathetic attitude taken by the Company in foregoing the tribute in the first year of treaty in view of the devastation played by the Marathas and Pindaris for long, but it goes without saying that in the long run the demands made upon the Jaipur Raja were exorbitant. The Marathas did not raise their demands so high. There was a wide gap in the agreements committed between the two. The Maharajas of Jaipur never made the full payment to the Marathas and always delayed it so long as it was not enforced by force of arms and even then they made part payment with fair promises for the future. At the same time, the Marathas were prepared to accept a part of the tribute in the form of articles denominated as "Bhurna". The marketable value of

the goods was also inferior to the sum for which goods were substituted. Again, the "Paimali" charges were to be balanced against the tribute but the Company demanded strict payment.

In the case of the Marathas it was the peasantry that bore the brunt but the treaty made the king suffer and spared the masses. Though, undoubtedly, it paved the way for the prosperity of the masses, yet the Maharaja with his meagre resources could not deliver the goods as desired. It is a hard fact of the history of this state that the rulers always grumbled against the invidious treatment accorded to them by demanding higher tribute than was paid by the other states¹.

The protection of the Company cost Jaipur much but it saved the state from the inhumanly atrocities and constant clashes with the Marathas and Pindaris. Jaipur had been a victim of the marauders who had paralysed its agriculture and gave it an appearance of a deserted and desolate land. The Company restored peace out of chaos and anarchy.

Though 'Paimali' charges were not to be balanced against the tribute but the question of 'Paimali' could never arise in the case of a treaty with the Company for the state was not to be subjected to destruction at the hands of the Company. Again, in the case of the Marathas the 'Paimali' charges balanced against the tribute were quite low in comparison with the devastation practised by them.

Another significant implication of the Sixth Article of the treaty was that the Company got an opportunity to interfere in the day-to-day administration of the State. It was always in the interest of the Company to see the revenues of the state expanding so that it might be able to extract more. With the passage of time the Company not only began interfering in the revenue receipts only but made her impact felt in every department. The Kachwaha State was free from such interference in the administration during the time of the Marathas.

With regard to Jodhpur, the Company, according to the sixth and seventh Articles of the treaty, accepted the same

¹ N A O I F & P, Nov 26, 1818, Cons No 38 From Maharaja of Jaipur to GG dated Nov 6, 1818.

tribute which the state had been paying to Sindhia. The agreement with Jodhpur was thus concluded on reasonable grounds without prejudice to the state in terms of tribute. By the eighth Article, Jodhpur was to furnish 1,500 horses for the service of the Company whenever required and the whole of the forces, excepting a few for the internal administration, when necessary.

By the seventh and eighth articles of the treaty the principality of Kota was also asked to pay the same tribute that she had been paying to the Peshwa, Sindhia, Holkar and Panwar¹. This last power had ceased to derive any benefit from the tribute which was shared by Sindhia and Holkar. So this share was also to go to the Company. The Company engaged to reply to the claims of these powers. Kota was also to furnish troops according to her means whenever required.

Thus, the Rajput states were freed from the day-to-day ravages to which they were subjected at the hands of the Marathas, Amir Khan and the Pindaris.

¹ N.A.O. 1 F & P, Jan. 30, 1818, Cons. No. 63. From C.T. Metcalfe to John Adams, Esq., dated Jan. 6, 1818.

Chapter 11

Summary and Conclusion

The chaotic condition of the Mughal Empire and the constantly declining power of the Emperor made the Marathas embark upon a systematic expansion of their power towards Rajputana, for it remained the only region well-fitted to meet the spoiler's eye. Their encroachment in the South was checked by the Mohammedan sovereigns of Hyderabad and Mysore, while the English rendered their advance in the East uncertain and dangerous. In the North Bundelkhand and Malwa were held in subjection by the Marathas. The proximity of Rajputana to Malwa and the dislocation of the clannish sovereignty in the body politic of Rajputana suited the expansionist designs of the Marathas. The mutual dissensions among the Rajputs were so greatly stretched that the interference of the Marathas was sought for. The close contested rivalry for the throne of Bundi in 1734 A.D. was the first of the series when Malhar Rao Holkar and Ranoji Sindhia came to Rajputana. Soon Mewar was hooked into paying tribute and Kota was goaded to promise lucrative sums to the Marathas. The rivalry at Jaipur and Jodhpur courts coaxed them into the Maratha system of alliance. The Marathas often over-ran the country committing depredations, till in time finding their people ruined, and their resources fast diminishing, the Maratha chiefs agreed to realise tribute from the Rajputs.

The collection of tribute furnished Sindhia and Holkar with a pretext of either actually invading their countries or menacing them with the devastation inseparable from the

presence of a Maratha army—an evil from which no regularity of payment could protect. As the expenses of equipping an army to enforce payment, which might never have been refused, furnished a never-failing plea to require reimbursement, and threw such difficulties in the way of final adjustment that the Rajputs were constantly at their mercy.

By the beginning of 1761, the Marathas had completely controlled Rajputana's political life and their periodical visitations became a regular feature. The enormous debt of the Peshwa and the unfailing need for money of the Maratha sardars brought the Marathas to Rajputana time and again.

The constant subjection to such a maltreatment left bitterness in the Rajputs and inspired them to be on the look out for such opportunities when they could avenge their humiliations. The invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali provided the house of Jaipur with it. The invitation of Sadashiv Rao Bhau to send contingents to repel the menace of Abdali was not only turned down by the Jaipur Raja but attempts were made to distract the attention of the Marathas by capturing their Thanas.¹ The defeat of the Marathas gave a sense of relief to the Rajputs. It swept away the authority that the Marathas commanded in Rajputana. Their armies had been annihilated, the finances had been distracted beyond repair and left them disorganised and disunited. The open rivalry between the houses of Sindhia and Holkar had also brought ruin to the Maratha cause and created bewilderment in Maratha politics. It was an excellent opportunity for the Rajputs to wipe off the last traces of Maratha dominance.

As such an attempt was made by Madho Singh to make a combined cause of the Rajputs but the mutual jealousies and recriminations came in the way. Madho Singh was least fitted to undertake any such move.² The spirit of retaliation was, however, so pronounced in him that he did not hesitate to pick up the gauntlet thrown down by the Marathas. The duality

1 D.O.B. : From Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh to Maharaja Samant Singh, dated Bhadra Badi 5, 1817 V.S. (38 1760), Draft Kharita Bundle No. 9, Draft No. 454.

2 S.P.D. Vol II letter Nos 142 & 143.

of purpose of annihilating Malhar's hordes and recapturing Kotries—recoiled upon his head and he was defeated by Kota and Malhar Rao Holkar at Bhatwara. The effect of this victory was decisive, for all possibilities of any anti-Maratha coalition by Madho Singh were lost and the prestige of Maratha arms was once again established. For a time, the preoccupation of Malhar Rao Holkar with Deccan affairs saved them from destruction but soon Jaipur was forced to concede to the demands of Holkar for a sum of Rs 35,00,001 in stipulation of the clearance of all his dues.¹ A combination of Jaipur and Jodhpur was again tried unsuccessfully in 1824 V.S. (1766-67) by Jawahar Singh, ruler of Bharatpur. Though the Jodhpur Raja, Bijay Singh, accepted the offer, Madho Singh's failure to join the league frustrated the plan. The inroads of Holkar into Rajputana had completely alienated the sympathies of the Rajputs so much so that their traditional friends were convinced of their unsuccessful attempts to satisfy their demands and made a bid to unite the Rajputs in 1824 V.S. (1766-67). But, again, the disinterestedness of the Kachwahs queered the pitch of Rajput unity. Rajputana seemed a house divided against itself and even the presence of a common enemy failed to compose their differences. The designs of the Rajputs made Holkar renew his predatory activities.

When such moves against Holkar were witnessed in Rajputana, Sindhia and Kota made a joint attack on Bundi—the former to realise his tributary dues and the latter to avenge his hostility. Bundi was spared from this unexpected calamity by paying off a part of the dues of Sindhia.

Mewar was also not spared of the Maratha inroads. The debacle of the Marathas at Panipat furnished Mewar also with an opportunity to capitalise on the Maratha predicaments. The Sisodias captured Rampura but the gain proved momentary as Holkar soon re-gained it. The misfortunes of Mewar were increased by the death of Rana Raj Singh II and the accession of Ari Singh—a man possessing an ungovernable temper and insolent

2 D O A B. Yad dast between Malhar Rao Holkar and Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh dated Magh Sudi 9, 1821 V.S. (30.1.1765) Kapat dwara No 784.

demeanour. The Rajputs were determined to ruin themselves and Ari Singh's bouts of irascibility intensified them. His accession made the Peshwa demand a succession fee from him and instructed Holkar to extract it by force, if it was not voluntarily forthcoming. This made Malhar Rao threaten the Maharana in 1820 V S and forced him to agree to pay forty-nine lakhs of rupees¹. This promise left Mewar in a state of peace for some time.

The absence of Holkar ought to have been the opportunity of Mewar to sink her differences and unite all diverse elements. But the absence of a charismatic personality, under whom all Rajputs could unite, let loose the forces of disintegration. The Maharana, for stabilising his position, resorted to all sorts of base treacheries which sent a wave of dissatisfaction among the sardars. The Rajputs grouped themselves into factions. Jaswant Singh of Dcogarh brought Ratan Singh, the posthumous son of Rana Raj Singh II, from the Gogunda Rani and espoused his cause against the claims of Rana Ari Singh. Attempts were made not only to woo the Rajput Rajas but also the factions consolidated their bargaining power vis-a-vis each other by seeking the help of the Marathas. Mewar was thus caught in a vicious circle of mutual rivalries. The Marathas, on the other hand, could not let slip such a chance. Sindhia sensed the situation and deputed Kanhoji Jadav and Achyut Rao Ganesh to realise his dues. The Maharana was forced to pay five lakhs of rupees to them. Having freed himself from Sindhia, the Maharana prepared to oust Ratan Singh from Mewar. He won over the Peshwa for espousing his cause on a promise of twenty lakhs of rupees. Ratan Singh also secured the support of Mahadji Sindhia's generals by promising to pay thirty lakhs of rupees. The disunity of Mewar had again brought the Marathas there. It was pitiful, indeed, that the declining power of the Peshwa had made Sindhia bold enough to commit the audacity of acting against the Peshwa. The factions were bent upon fighting it out to the bitter end. The battle of Sipra—the logical sequel to such a state of affairs—was fought on Posh Sudi 6, 1825 V S².

1 Agreed upon between Malhar Rao Holkar and Maharana Ari Singh, dated Dausakh Budi 5, 1820 V.S. (20.4.1764)

2 A.O.K. - Bharat 1825

(13 1 1769) The Maharana could save his skin by promising to pay sixty lakhs of rupees besides another Rs 3,50,000 for office expenditure and a jagir worth Rs 75,000 for Ratan Singh¹

Mewar was groaning under the crushing burden of tribute levied upon her by the Marathas. She was not in a position to implement her commitments made under duress. Sindhia and Holkar fell foul of each other over the division of the spoils of war from Mewar. Their strife culminated in the surrender of Nimbahera by the Rana to Holkar. Sindhia also converted the mortgaged lands into Maratha pockets. Mewar was thus dispossessed of much of her territory.

With the withdrawal of Marathas from the scene, Mewar again witnessed an unedifying spectacle of scramble for power among her own sons. This assumed alarming proportions. Ratan Singh made a desperate bid to capture the throne of Mewar with the help of the Jogis. The failure did not dim his prospect and Jaswant Singh, his firm adherent, made another attempt by bringing the forces of George Thomas. The Peshwa felt vague stirrings of tenderness for the Maharana because of the traditional kinship with him and reprimanded Maharaja Prithvi Singh very strongly for his unbecoming act in helping the mutinous elements against the Maharana². The Peshwa asked Bijay Singh to help the Maharana. Peace was restored due to the mediation of Raja Bahadur Singh of Kishengarh.

The misfortunes of Mewar were multitudinous. This time the death of Rana Ari Singh in 1828 V.S. and the succession of a minor *Hamir Singh* to the 'gadi' re-kindled the smouldering fire of enmity. The administration was carried on ineffectively by the mother regent. A minority rule has always been a perilous period in Rajputana. The appointment of Mohkam Singh of Bhinder again flared up a contest between the Saktawuts and the Chundawuts. This enmity demoralised Mewar completely.

The rebellion of Megh Singh of Begun—a powerful division of the Chundawuts—obliged the mother-regent to seek the help

1 Shyamal Das *op cit* p 1563

2 D.O.A.B. From Peshwa Madhav Rao Ballal to Maharaja Sawai Prithvi Singh dated Kartik Sudi 7, 1828 V.S. (13 11 1771), Kharita Section

of Sindhua for its reduction. Megh Singh was compelled by Sindhua to provide Rs 9,63,000. A part of the huge demand was made in cash and for the balance 36 villages were transferred to Sindhua along with 48 villages against the payment which Begun had to make according to the agreement of 1826 V S.

The constant visits of the Marathas were a grim reminder to the Rajputs that the frequent calling in of the Marathas to settle their disputes was a folly. They looked for some opportunity when the Marathas might be engrossed in their dissensions. So when the Marathas were fighting against the English in the first Anglo-Maratha war, Mewar adopted a posture of neutrality. She did not realise that the foreign power, after crushing the Marathas, might also set foot on her soil. It was a short-sighted policy from all accounts. On the other hand, the Maratha chiefs were also working at cross purposes. Thus there were scenes of disunity both among the Rajputs and the Marathas. Consequently, none of them could capitalise upon the misfortunes of the other.

The rumblings of catastrophe were stilled for the time being. The reasons for such a calm atmosphere were quite different for the two camps. The armed strength of Jaipur dwindled into insignificance with the death of Sawai Madho Singh in 1768 A.D. The reins of government were conferred upon Prithvi Singh, his eldest son, a lad of five, under the supervision of the widowed queen, a daughter of Jaswant Singh Chundawat, the chief of Deogarh in Mewar. The ineffectiveness of the mother-regent at Jaipur again opened rivalries between the Rajawats, Nathawats and Shekhawats. This resulted in a formal recognition of independence of the Rao Raja from his lord of Jaipur. The undue importance attached to Gulab Rai, the 'Paswan' of Maharaja Bijay Singh, led to chaos and turmoil at Jodhpur.

Marathas would have made use of such a weak state of affairs but the retirement of Sindhua to the Deccan in July, 1776, and his consequent entanglement in the contest for the Peshwaship at Poona deterred him. There was no one who could watch over Maratha interests in Rajputana. This gave Rajputana a long cherished respite from sanguinary conflicts. This vacuum caused by the Maratha absence was soon filled by

the Imperial Generalissimo, Najaf Khan, who sought to establish the supremacy of the Mughal Emperor over Rajputana. He prodded Emperor Shah Alam II, to assert his imperial authority and persuaded him to accompany him to Jaipur where he would ask the new ruler Sawai Pratap Singh to have his succession conferred upon him by His Majesty's hands and induce him to clear the past arrears and pay the succession fee. It is, indeed, strange that the tribute arising on these two counts could not be realised by the Mughals. By a stroke of good luck, Mirza Najaf Khan died and the Mughals could not cast their covetous eyes upon Jaipur.

On the other hand, the Maratha politics underwent a change and the intervention of Mahadji Sindhia restored peace at Poona. The treaty of Salbye signed on May 17, 1782, opened a new chapter for Mahadji, as he could give a free play to his ambitions of extending his sway in the North and Rajputana. It added to his prestige as the arbiter of Maratha affairs and the peacemaker with the English. This augmented his influence with other Maratha potentates. Not only this, but he obtained the permission from Warren Hastings, the Governor-General, for the management of imperial affairs. This further enhanced his prestige. Though there were not a few British diplomats who opposed the policy of Warren Hastings, in giving a free hand to Mahadji for dealing with the Mughal Emperor, but the Governor-General persisted in maintaining good relations with him. The political stock of Mahadji Sindhia was rising rapidly and Shah Alam II could not be ignorant of it. He appointed Mahadji as 'Wakil-i Mutlaq', the highest executive office—combining the powers of both Wazir and Mir Bakshi. Henceforward the Marathas began to march into Rajputana as the accredited servants of the King and not as the hirelings of one or the other local chieftains. They came to Rajputana to collect the dues which, by the lapse of time, had accumulated into a staggering sum. The Emperor also authorised Mahadji to collect his tribute too from the Rajput chiefs. This, once again, brought Sindhia to Rajputana.

There was a marked difference in the activities of Mahadji Sindhia for the rest of his life. The spectacular comeback of the Marathas was his signal achievement and the Government

of Poona was nowhere in the picture. With no Peshwa's influence restraining his ardour, Mahadji dominated Rajputana like a colossus. The Rajputs, on the other hand, could not grasp the implications of the changing situation and never paid due attention to the changing techniques of Western warfare whereby Mahadji had made his forces invincible against attacks of the Indian Princes.

Freed from other quarters, Mahadji took to enforcing his double claims upon Jaipur, those of himself and of the Mughal Emperor. He accompanied with the Emperor, reached Deeg and tried for a peaceful settlement through the good offices of Rao Raja Pratap Singh and Khushali Ram Bohra. After long discussions it was decided that the Jaipur Raja would pay Rs 63 lakhs, including the Durbar charges.

Mahadji was bent upon realising the tribute as promised by Jaipur and Sawai Pratap Singh was trying his best to postpone it. Pratap Singh began to think in terms of armed resistance against Mahadji and sounded the British for help. He was met with a rebuff from that quarter and, therefore, looked in other directions. Maharaja Bijay Singh was also disgusted with the Marathas and so both of them pooled their resources against the Marathas. Mahadji anticipated the hostile designs of Jaipur, knocked at the doors of Sanganer to enforce his payment. He imagined that his very presence would make the Maharaja acquiesce in his demands, but he was mistaken. Sawai Pratap Singh lulled Mahadji into a false sense of complacency and smugness by his conciliating gestures and simultaneously strengthened his defences. The forces opposed to Mahadji were getting momentum. Many Mughala and Hindustani troops joined the Rajputs. With his characteristic dogged persistence Mahadji awaited the arrival of Maratha troops to give a tough fight to his enemies. Sawai Pratap Singh trod his path circumspectly and warily. The fear of Rajput arms cast a gloom on the Maratha camp. But there was no way out for him excepting giving battle to his enemy and, consequently, the two forces met at the battlefield of Lalsot. In spite of much blood shed it proved inconclusive, but still the Rajputs were in a favourable position. Because of their habitual indolence the Rajputs did not pursue the retreating Marathas. Though

Sindhia had fallen on evil days yet Rao Raja Pratap Singh stood by him

The Rajputs had at last succeeded in pushing their arch-enemy into a tight corner. This startling development proved that the salvation of the Rajputs lay through unity. It was an irony of fate that this lesson was soon forgotten by the Rajputs.

Immediately after the battle Bijay Singh captured Ajmer and drove away the Marathas from there. But the discomfiture of Mahadji proved short and, by the end of 1788, he once again became the master of Delhi. By May, 1790, he despatched his forces under Jiva Dada Bakshi and De Boigne to fight the Rajputs. A furious battle was waged at Patan on June 20, 1790. But the defeat of the Kachwahs did not muffle their spirit of retaliation till the Rathors were also thrown out in the battle of Merta on September 10, 1790. The agents of Jaipur and Jodhpur came to the camp of Mahadji for restoring peace. Jodhpur agreed to pay 60 lakhs of rupees in addition to the surrender of the fort of Ajmer and the pargana of Sambhar.¹ Jaipur was humbled to pay 17 lakhs of rupees on account of Maratha tribute. Though the Rajput states were lying prostrate before Mahadji, yet the mutual dissensions between Tukoji Holkar and Mahadji Sindhia on the division of spoils could not enable them to squeeze out the Rajputs.

When Mahadji was subjected to such reverses at the hands of the Rajputs, Mewar also made a move to oust him. The principal clans of the Saktawuts and Chundawuts composed their differences. The fruits of their unity were reaped in the recapture of Singoli, Nimbahera, Jiran and Jawad. Zalim Singh adopted a dual policy—on the one hand, his forces accelerated the work of reconquest, while, on the other hand, he maintained cordial relations with Sindhia. But the artificial unity between the Chundawuts and the Saktawuts could not operate for long. Stultification arising from the traditional hostilities of these clans doomed Rajputana to perpetual humiliation. It is a pity that the Rajputs could not agree on fundamental issues

1 D O A B Dastari records, Basta No. 6, File No. 6, letter No. 57, dated Posh Sudi 1, 1847 V S (11 1791). From Mahadji Sindhia to Maharaja Bijay Singh.

affecting their survival while their oppressors subordinated their divergent interests to pursue a common line of action. Soon the Marathas snatched away the land slipped away from their hands by humiliating Mewar in the battle of Harkiyakhal in January, 1788. This signal defeat at the hands of the Marathas shelved the issue of Rajput unity, in Mewar. The Chundawuts viewed it as a racial humiliation caused by the Saktawut Dewan, Som Chand Gandhi. They engineered his murder, which annoyed the Maharana. It again flared up a contest between the two hostile clans. This weakened the hands of the Maharana and his solitary forces could not cope with the situation. The interference of Sindhua was sought for restoring peace. Zahir Singh was persuaded to bring him as he still enjoyed the confidence of Sindhua. Sindhua willingly acceded to his request and had to be present in Mewar personally, for the generals proved no match for the Chundawuts. Sindhua realised the gravity of the situation. Though the unity among the rival Rajput clans militated against long-term interests in Mewar, yet the hard pressed Mahadji had to bring a compromise between them in order to satisfy the immediate pecuniary claims of his soldiers. Mahadji imposed a war indemnity of 12 lakhs of rupees on the Chundawuts. A sum of 20 lakhs of rupees was agreed upon as the dues from Mewar. Mahadji left Ambaji Inglia as his agent in Mewar with powers of administration. The hatred for the Marathas was simmering in the hearts of the Rajputs but the slackness in co-ordinating their activities subjected them to yet greater abasement at their hands.

There was a marked change in the political situation of Rajputana from the year 1792. The authority of Sindhua extended practically over the whole of Rajputana. Mewar became a backwash of Sindhua. But the recrudescence of Holkar-Sindhia rivalry caused a jolt to Sindhua's supremacy till Holkar was ejected from the Rajputana stage at the battle of Lakheri in June, 1793.

When Holkar's power was thus declining in Rajputana, it could have been the opportunity of Sindhua to make the Rajputs thoroughly amenable to his demands. Before he could think of it, he died at Poona on February 12, 1794. Daulat Rao Sindhua succeeded him. The death of Mahadji left no

Maratha personality who could act as a mortar cementing different generals into a cohesive force. The result was that the Maratha generals fell foul of each other. The death of Peshwa Madhav Rao accelerated it. Lakwa Dada and Ambaji Inglia were inveterate opponents and made no bones about their mutual hostilities. The cause of Sindhia was left to suffer. The scramble for ascendancy among the Maratha generals, who invoked the help of the Rajput Rajas, kindled joy in the hearts of the Rajputs who were tired of the Marathas. They set about devising means to free themselves from Sindhia's yoke but the defeat of Nizam at the hands of the Marathas in the battle of Kherda completely demoralised them. Frustrated by their sufferings, the rulers of Jaipur and Kota made an unsuccessful attempt to seek the assistance of the Company.

Amid such scenes of anarchy and disruption, Mewar with the aid of the Kachwahs, sought to wipe off the last remnants of Maratha power from her soil. But before this could be executed, Lakwa Dada was sent by Daulat Rao Sindhia to Mewar and a fine of 17 lakhs of rupees was imposed to clinch a union with a sister Rajput State against the Marathas. Jaipur also faced the disgraceful defeat at the battle of Fatehpur in 1793 A D at the hands of the combined forces of Vaman Rao and George Thomas.

While Lakwa was thus busy consolidating his position in Rajputana, a court revolution threw out Lakwa but he declared himself to be the Naib of Hindustan in August, 1798, in the name of the widows, as against his arch-enemy, Ambaji Inglia. For nearly a year (August 1798 to June 1799) these generals fought ignominious skirmishes on the soil of Mewar and the traditional rival clans of Mewar—Chundawuts and Saktawuts—sided with the two Maratha leaders, while the Kachwahs and Rathors remained neutral. It spelled the spoliation of Mewar till Daulat Rao was disgusted with it and re-appointed Lakwa Dada as his Naib in Mewar.

While Ambaji was fretting and fuming and Perron was intriguing, Lakwa carried on some successful campaigns against Mewar and Jaipur. He reduced Jahazpur and then directed his guns towards Jaipur and struck a blow at the Jaipur forces on April 16, 1800, in the battle of Malpura. But he was bereft

of the fruits of victory, for a court revolution had thrown him out of office and General Perron concluded peace treaties with the Jaipur Raja. Jodhpur had to follow suit.

Under such a dispensation when the old order of Rajput chieftainship was verging towards a collapse, Lord Wellesley intervened for British interests. The laurels gained by General Wellesley and Lake crippled Sindhu's and Holkar's power in northern India and forced them to loosen their stronghold on the Rajput states. The Marathas were very aggressive and had overrun the territories of Jaipur, Jodhpur and Alwar so much so that these states thought it safe to enter into alliance with the Company. The result of such an arrangement was that the Marathas were restrained from all depredations and encroachments beyond the Chambal. But soon upon Lord Wellesley's retirement from India, the treaties with the Rajput Rajas, excepting Alwar, were dissolved as the British interests had been achieved by this time. The onus of repudiating the treaties was thrown on the weak shoulders of the Rajputs. The Rajput states were thus abandoned to the mercies of the Marathas who vied with each other in teaching a lesson to them for their pro-British attitude.

The Rajput states were further subjected to unspeakable degradation at the hands of the Marathas and Amir Khan. Though frequent scenes of Maratha generals working at cross purposes with each other were witnessed, yet they were able to reap the fruits from the bitter strife that had broken out between the Rajas of Jaipur and Jodhpur for the fair hand of princess Krishna Kumari. The Marathas and Pindaris encouraged and aided the two chiefs for meeting out their own ends. The two Rajas agreed to have their rivalries resolved by a bond of double marriage in their families but the whole plan was thrown to the winds as one of them had retraced his steps. The pre-occupation with the marriage completely undermined their foresight and led them to purchase the Marathas' support by higher bidding. Rajputana was mercilessly pillaged by the hordes of Marathas and Pindari leader Amir Khan till the latter completely mastered Rajputana and became the undisputed arbiter. Amir Khan derived every advantage out of the dissensions of the Rajput Rajas. The claims of a posthumous son made confusion worse confounded. Rajputana was aflame

with dissensions for four years till Krishna Kumari was put to death by the Mewar Darbar at the instance of Amir Khan. The rights of posthumous son were relegated to the background. Sindhia made the Jaipur Durbar pay him as much as fifteen lakhs of rupees. This was the last expedition of Daulat Rao Sindhia to Rajputana. Surjee Rao Ghatke, Ambaji Inglia and Bapoo Rao Ingria formed the triumvirate for rehabilitating Sindhia's affairs.

After 1810, Sindhia pitched his camp near Gwahor. Sindhia inherited vast possessions in Rajputana but was out-stripped by Amir Khan who had established his influence at various courts. Jodhpur Raja was his ally, and a party of Holkar's Darbar was at his beck and call.

The decline of Maratha influence in Rajputana is best symbolised in the crumbling power of Daulat Rao Sindhia who had ceased to be a force to reckon with. The Pindaris had him at their mercy. Amir Khan emerged as a powerful force from the wreckage of Maratha supremacy in Rajputana. He became virtually a king-maker and no event of any minor significance could take place without his consent. The incompetent Rajput rulers had to accord him a treatment of equality. Amir Khan filled the cup of Rajput miseries to the brim. Maharaja Man Singh turned into a melancholy maniac. Jaipur fared no better, as Col. James Tod puts it, "Jagat Singh ruled for 17 years with the disgraceful distinction of being the most dissolute prince of his race or of his age." Even Daulat Rao Sindhia thought of taking the help of the Company in saving his land from the Pindari menace.

The rising tide of Pindari power acted as a great setback to British influence in the North. Keeping their interest in view, the Company thought of reviving the practice of entering into defensive alliances with the Rajputs, to deal a shattering blow to the Pindaris. The Rajputs were on the look out for such a power which could deliver them from the menace of the Pindaris as well as of the Marathas. They grasped the hand of British protection. The British established their supremacy there and with it chaos and anarchy came to an end. The treaties with the British were a panacea for the ill Rajputana was heir to for a long time, but the benefits flowing therefrom were of a doubtful nature.

Bibliography

The thesis is mainly based on original material collected from various Archives of Rajasthan more particularly from General Records Office, Bikaner. The records kept at the National Archives of India New Delhi, have also been made use of thoroughly. The private possessions of the various Thikanas of Rajasthan have been consulted and made use of in the work. These all can be divided as follows

- (1) Original Sources
- (2) Published Records and Contemporary Works
- (3) Secondary Sources

Practically all the important records for political research in the History of Rajasthan have been scanned from the various repositories and Archives in Rajasthan and collected systematically at the Directorate of Archives Office, Bikaner. The main contributors are the Archives of Jaipur, Jodhpur and Udaipur. The records comprise of (a) Kharitas, (b) Draft Kharitas, (c) Arzadast, (d) Khatut Ahalkaran, (e) Ikarnama, (f) Bahis and Vyakas.

Kharitas These are in the old Rajasthani script and have been divided state-wise. They have been addressed by one ruler to his counterpart in other states and give a picture of the inter state actions and reactions. For the relations between the Marathas and Rajputs these Kharitas serve as the most important source of information. They inform us of the real moves of the kings, the secret policies and their political manoeuvrings.

Draft Kharitas These are the draft of the Kharitas sent from Jaipur state to the other states. They also throw valuable light on the inter state relations, and give a picture of the cross currents prevailing there.

Arzadast Benam Maharajagan (Arzad Section) These comprise of letters written from the various officers addressed to Maharaja giving information of various kinds which they thought to be essential for the knowledge of the Maharaja. They are at times written from the camps giving the movements and the designs of the enemy, and are authentic. They mainly concern with matters of political significance.

Khatut Ahalkaran These are the letters written from one officer

to the other and their counterparts in the capital and vice-versa. These letters contain detailed information about the political condition of the place, where they were posted. These letters give information and seek advice for the various policies.

Ikarnama These are the copies of agreements either between two chiefs or the heads of two or more states for the execution of some object agreed upon between the two parties. These generally deal with the amount of tribute that the Rajput states committed to pay to the Marathas at different times.

Muttafrik Kagazat These are the papers which do not fall under any category and therefore, have been bundled up separately. Like other papers they also throw light on different events by those who do not constitute the official hierarchy.

Dastari Records In the former state of Marwar there was a separate department known as Dastari Records Office. They are in the form of Bundles and Bahis. These are the most important records for the History of Jodhpur and her relations with the Marathas and other states of Rajputana. The records comprise of the letters written from the different states to Jodhpur ruler. The letters are in old Rajasthani script and have been classified and tied up in bundles state-wise. The style and mode of addresses differ from state to state. They have seldom been signed and full stops have not been used.

Bahis These are as under —

(a) **Arzi Bahis** These are papers of size 25" x 8" approximately and are numbered and put up together. They contain letters from Jodhpur to the different Maratha sardars and carry information of all kinds. For our period of study Bahis numbers 4 and 5 are of a greater value and give a picture of the relations of the various Maratha sardars with Jodhpur. The Bahis are bound in leather or cloth with a long string to the double roll formed by the body of the Bahis.

(b) **Hakikat Bahis** These Bahis give the daily routine of the Maharajas in detail and provide a list of the various chiefs who met the Maharaja. They indirectly give the names of many sardars of importance who were killed or dead in the battlefield. These Bahis are silent about the nature of talks which the Maharaja had with these chiefs and sardars, but they serve a useful purpose in checking the dates and for making cross references.

(c) **Kharita Bahis** These comprise of the Kharitas written by the Jodhpur state to the heads of Marathas and Rajas of Rajasthan and also those received from them. Sometimes they are only complimentary and enquire about health alone.

(d) **The Hath Bahis** These comprise of the rules and regulations formed in the state from time to time.

(e) **The Sanad and Khas Rokka Parwana Bahis** They deal with

matters of administration and give an outline of the important events of the state

Kota State Archives It is a rich repository containing a number of documents. These can be classified as follows

(a) **Do Varkhi** They are two-leaf documents. Most of them are arranged chronologically. They deal mostly with the relations of Kota with other states. The visits of the ruler or of other dignitaries in and outside the state have been aptly dealt. They provide an accurate account of the expenditure incurred and losses sustained by the state or its people. They are very useful for the relationship between Kota and the Marathas.

(b) **Talik.** They contain copies of the orders and letters despatched inside or outside its territory specially to the Maratha leaders and to the officers of various parganas bearing the instructions in connection with the Maratha raids in the state. There are copies of letters received from the Maratha chiefs too.

(c) **Mulki Jhadas.** These are in the form of Bahis and contain consolidated account of the income and expenditure on various activities such as army movements, purchase of horses, camels and war material, tribute paid to the Marathas, rewards and appreciation for extra services, casualty allowances. Besides there are accounts of expenditure incurred on missions, deputations, etc., sent to various places and camps of the Marathas, Pindaries, etc., hospitality provided to them whenever they visited the state, and given to various Maratha sardars presents sent to them on ceremonies at different occasions.

(d) **Motaffarik (Misc.)** These are the various letters sent by the Harkaras or the Vakils deputed at the courts of Holkar, Sindhis, etc. Some letters are interesting, but as the Harkaras mostly flattered the Kota rulers and the Regent Zaim Singh so are not thoroughly dependable.

National Archives of India. This office was previously known by the name of the Imperial Records Department. With the advent of the East India Company the Governor General used to keep his representatives at the courts of Sindhis, and the Vakils of the various states of Rajasthan always flocked to Delhi for consultations. These representatives supplied information regarding movement of the various Maratha sardars and their likely intentions. The detail and the clarity with which they perform their jobs is very authentic. These records have been classified as under —

- (a) Proceedings of the Foreign and Political Department
- (b) Proceedings of the Foreign and Secret Department
- (c) Letters to and from the Court of Directors

Translation of Persian Records. Important Persian letters chiefly from the point of view of the English East India Company have been translated into English and have been preserved under various heads such

as Translation of Receipts, Abstract of Receipts and Translation of Issues and Abstract of Issues

Besides these, there are separate bundles in the Miscellaneous Series of which the 'Political Series' is an important one. The bundles, viz., Miscellaneous Political Serial Nos. 150 and 193 are important for they give information about the Pindaris.

Private Possessions

(a) **Banera Fort Archives** It was an important Thikana of Mewar. The records date from 1650 A D i.e., from Raja Bhim Singh and are written in old Rajasthani script which is not easily decipherable. As the family of Banera had close relations with Jodhpur too, some letters have been preserved and give important clues of that state. The records have been well preserved and are arranged systematically. The repercussions of the Maratha embroils and the counter attempts that the Rana thought to apply in which Banera had been an active participant are clearly available in these records.

(b) **Ravi Shanker Desai's Collection (Banera)** Though the collection is a little one yet it gives some clues to the vast impositions laid down by the Marathas and the payment made to them from time to time. The collection contains a number of books which are rare specimen.

(c) **Raghubir Library, Sitamow** This is the richest collection of an individual in Madhya Pradesh. The collection consists of very valuable records still unpublished. The most striking out of them are (i) Gulgule Daftar & Registers, (ii) Akhbars of the times. These Akhbars give an exact and up-to-date information regarding the movement of the kings and their armies and serve a useful purpose for cross references. Portraying of very minute details is a characteristic feature of these Akhbars. Besides these Akhbars there are photostat copies of the various documents preserved in India and elsewhere which have been procured for the use of research scholars whom Dr. Raghubir Singh receives with open hands. Besides this, copies of Khayats of the various states of Rajasthan and Hindi Registers (MSS) dealing with Jaipur State are very useful for our period of study.

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Oriental Words and Their Meanings

Akhbar	Newspaper
Anna	1/16 part of a rupee It is equivalent to 6 Paisa in the modern Indian currency
Barat	Retinue The pay bills for the retinue
Bakshi	Commander in chief
Chowdhari	The village headman
Darbar	The royal court
Dewan Mukhtar	Prime Minister of the State
Gutka	A precise form
Ghat	Ford of a river
Ghasdara	A tax to feed the Maratha horses
Gadi	Throne
Hundi	A promissory note
Jagir	A Persian term denoting place of holding'
Ahas Rakka	A special communication addressed by the ruler
Kamvishdar	Revenue official of the Marathas
Kotia	Senior families of the chiefs of Jaipur, who claim descent from a former ruler of Jaipur
Kos	A mile and a half
Kanwar	The heir apparent
Khandani	Tribute
Kharita	A letter addressed from one Raja to the other
Lakh	One-tenth of a million
Raja Maharaja	King
Maharaja	The title borne by Mewar Kings
Mahajan	Native Banker
Maharao	The title borne by Kota Kings
Maharani	The Head Queen.
Mamlat	Tribute

Munshi	Generally a clerk of high rank
Mujman	Hospitality
Naibandi	Money substitute for supply of Sawars
Nazar	Present
Naib	Deputy
Pargana	District
Peshkash	Persian Pesh-kash Wilson interprets it as first fruits' It is used as an offering or tribute but in a specific and technical sense.
Pradhan	Chief Minister
Paimali	Compensation for damage
Pagri	Turban
Rakhi	A festival of the Hindus when sisters tie a sacred thread on the wrist of their brothers It implies that the brother had taken the responsibility of safeguarding her
Raj	Kingdom
Rani	Queen
Rao Raja	The title borne by Atwar Kings
Sardars	Chiefs
Subedar	Governor
Saropao	Customary presents on all social occasions consisting of four clothes (Payjama, Angar kha, Turban and waist-band)
Thakur	A noble of significance—A Rajput landlord
Thanas	Check-posts
Vakil	A political agent
Wazir	Prime Minister
Zakhmana	Compensation for sustaining injury

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